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ART. I.—*The Condition and Prospects of the Greek or Oriental Church.* By George Waddington, D.D., Dean of Durham, Author of 'A Visit to Greece,' &c. New Edition, Revised. London: Murray. 1854.

BEFORE the present war broke out, the civilized world waited in anxious suspense for the final word from the Czar—the word which his worshippers believed was to decide the fate of nations. It was no wonder that the dictum of such a man, at such a time, should be listened to with deep interest; for then his *prestige* existed in all its force. The ruler of sixty millions of human beings, all of whom are subject to his absolute will,—lord of more than half the land in Europe, and having in Asia territory larger than its whole surface, and managing all his vast resources with a view to military pre-eminence and conquest,—it was natural that his power should be regarded with dread by the neighbouring nations. The Russian empire must, indeed, have been truly formidable if its government had been a limited monarchy, restrained by constitutional responsibility, and by the wide-spread interests of commerce; if society in Russia had been as artificial as that of England; and if its barren steppes had been covered with a network of telegraphic wires, like nerves transmitting the electric current of commercial life from the heart to all its extremities, and like nerves, sensitive at every pore, and likely to be paralysed by every shock. Even with such powerful inducements to peace, it would be hard for a monarch possessing a seventh of the whole land of the earth, as the Czar does, to

resist the cravings of ambition and the propensity to aggression. Now, this intoxicating power is in the hands of a despot, who acknowledges no law but his will, whose subjects are in a semi-savage state, whose wealth has the least possible dependence on the delicate complications of commerce, who has little to lose but men, of which material he has an inexhaustible supply, and on which he places very little value. But with all the temptations of his position, which operate most strongly on a rude nature, stimulated by flatterers, who cannot understand power unless its form is physical and its action destructive, there is superadded the blind and furious fanaticism, which was a grand impelling motive with most of the conquering migrations of the East and North. When the Persian kings overran the nations, it was to establish the faith of their god Ormuzd, as we find it recorded by Darius on the Great Rock, Behistun. Mohammed, we know, warred against the 'infidel,' and when the northern nations desolated christian Europe in the middle ages, they felt that the massacre of priests and the burning of churches were the most acceptable offerings to their cruel idols. Many, perhaps most, of the wars of Christendom had a religious element mixed up with them, which increased their horrors tenfold. Like Attila, the crusading rulers of Spain, Germany, and France, believed themselves to be scourges of God to punish heresy,—destroying angels, in whose hearts pity would be impiety and mercy treason. Soldiers inflamed by this fanaticism are an army of incarnate fiends, whose delight is to revel in blood, and who have no more remorse than wild beasts.

The Czar has done all in his power to breathe this foul spirit into his subjects. He is their king, their pope, their apostle, all in one, and he tells them in his inflammatory proclamations that he is *combating for the orthodox faith*—against the great enemy of Christianity with which the Western powers have allied themselves.

This, indeed, is but the cloak of Russian ambition. It was worn by Peter the Great, and by Catherine, with whom the conquest of Constantinople, which they called *the Oriental project*, was an object of earnest desire; and to realize this hereditary project Nicholas has been preparing for many years. Our readers are aware that 'the Eastern question,' which is now being settled by the sword, originated in a dispute that arose in 1850 between the Roman Catholics and Greeks about the Holy places in Jerusalem. The court of France, constituted by treaties the protector of the Latin Christians in the Turkish empire, interfered, demanding concessions for the Latins, which were strenuously resisted by the Emperor of Russia, the protector of the Greeks. Hence the extraordinary mission of Prince Menschikoff to Con-

stantinople, ostensibly with no other object than the 'adjustment of the difficulties about the Holy places, which the Czar himself positively asserted would settle all matters in dispute between Russia and the Porte,' though he had charged his ambassador with secret instructions to extort a new treaty from the Sultan, extending and confirming his protectorate. Out of this demand arose all the notes, protocols, and *ultimata* which preceded the declaration of war, one of whose main objects is to put an end to the Russian protectorate of the Greek subjects of the Porte. Everybody has been talking of the Greek church for the last three or four years; but we suspect that only a small portion of the public are acquainted with its character, condition, and history. We propose, therefore, in the following pages, to supply authentic information on this subject.

From the earliest period of the intercourse between the Greeks and Latins they regarded one another with contempt and aversion. The Greeks, proud of their learning and civilization, despised the Romans for their rudeness and ignorance, and hated them for their insolence and oppression; while the arrogant and advancing Romans looked down with scorn on the feeble and retrograde condition of the Greeks. The political relations of the parties deepened their mutual animosity, and it was roused from time to time into bitter activity by religious polemics, ecclesiastical ambition, the iconoclastic controversy, and the strife, commotion, and outrages which it produced. The intercourse between the two parties during the first Crusades did not mitigate their hostile feelings. The Greeks of Constantinople were compelled to entertain the demoralized soldiers who went forth to deliver Jerusalem from the profanation of the Turks, but they took revenge for the infliction by a number of refined and ingenious insults, which they could venture upon with impunity. Such was their antipathy to the persons and religion of the schismatic Crusaders, that in the expedition of Louis VII., the Greek clergy are said to have washed and purified the altar which had been defiled, in their estimation, by the services of a Latin priest.* In 1183 their hatred broke forth in the massacre of the Frank inhabitants of Constantinople. The capture of that city by the Latins and Venetians, and the partition of the defenceless empire among the conquerors, while completing the degradation of the Greeks, rendered their aversion to the church of Rome, if possible, more intense.

It is the general impression that Mohammedanism inculcates either the conversion or the extermination of its subjugated enemies. This is a mistake. The injunction of the Arab

* Gibbon.

prophet was this:—‘Fight against them who believe not in God nor in the last day, who forbid not what God and his apostle have forbidden, and profess not the true religion of those unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered, *until they pay tribute, by right of subjection, and they be reduced low.*’* This was the policy on which the Sultan generally acted. The uncircumcised slave was permitted to worship the God of his fathers so long as he paid the *karatch*, or poll-tax, and was submissive to his masters.

The history of the Greek church, from the establishment of Christianity as the national religion in the fourth century, down to the final subversion of the empire by Mahomed II., has been justly described as ‘one continued and nauseous detail of bigotry, intolerance, puerility, corruption, and debasement.’ The example of sottish superstition exhibited by Constantine the Great was sedulously imitated by the ‘theological Cæsars’ who succeeded to his throne; and while from year to year the revenues, the territory, and the influence of the empire were becoming more and more degraded, almost the only councils held by these priest-ridden monarchs were to settle the disputes concerning the Trinity or the Incarnation; their most energetic measures were directed to the suppression, not of insurrections, but of schisms; the Ebionites and the Docetes were looked on as more appalling enemies than the Goths or the Saracens; and the intelligence of the march of an invading army could not create a greater sensation than the arguments concerning the *procession of the Holy Spirit*. The dignity of the crown was merged in the haughty importance of the patriarch, the nerves of the government were warped and overlaid by the interference of the church; the voice of policy was drowned in the din of polemics, and at the very moment when the engines of Mahomed II. were thundering against the walls of Constantinople, its rulers were occupied in disputations concerning the sacred light upon Mount Tabor.†

The policy adopted by the conqueror was extraordinary for a disciple of Mahomed. On entering the city the priests came in a body to pay their submission to him. ‘Where,’ he demanded, ‘is he who bears to me the gifts of your patriarch; and wherefore does he not approach in person to pay his due submission to his king?’ ‘Alas!’ they replied, ‘we have no patriarch: the last who filled the sacred chair resigned his office, and since that period no other has been found to take his seat.’ Orders were then instantly issued by the Sultan for the

* Koran, ch. ix.

† Sir J. Emerson Tennent, *History of Modern Greece*, i. 339.

election of a patriarch according to the ancient ceremonies; and a priest was unanimously chosen, who assumed the office under the name of Gennadius. The Sultan then inquired what was the mode of investiture as practised by the Christian emperors; and in imitation of them, he placed in the patriarch's hands a staff ornamented with jewels, cast round him an embroidered cloak, and presented him with a thousand gold ducats, and a horse with golden trappings, on which it was his special privilege to ride through the streets accompanied by his train. 'Immediately after the investiture,' adds Malazus, the credulous historian,—'the Sultan repaired to the monastery which had been conferred on Gennadius as a residence, and entering the sanctuary, solicited a full explanation of all the mysteries of the Christian religion, with which he professed to be deeply interested, and even to be convinced of the truth of Christianity.' By this policy, the Greeks, who had fled, were induced to come back to the city, and the new ruler secured the obedience of his subjects by a most effectual bond. He ruled through the head of the church, and on this principle his successors have almost invariably acted.

It had, however, been stipulated, on the surrender of the city, that the edifices of public worship should remain in the possession of the Christians, and that their marriages, burials, and other ceremonies, should be exempt from interference on the part of the civil power.

These and other privileges remained in a great measure unmolested till the reign of Mahomed's grandson, Seylim I. Being a violent bigot, he obtained a *jetfa* from the mufti, which he placed in the hands of the vizier, with directions to convert every church throughout the empire into a mosque, and to compel the *giaours* by menaces, tortures, or even death, to embrace the faith of the prophet. The divan, with difficulty, dissuaded him from putting the decree in execution; but while he consented to abandon the forcible proselytism, he insisted that every church built of stone should become at once a mosque, and that the Greeks should retain those only which were built of wood, with permission to purchase the right of repairing them as often as they should fall into decay. Down to a late period, this law remained in force, particularly in the south of Greece, though it was often evaded by bribing the authorities.

The *grand synod* was the supreme assembly of the Greek church. It was composed, according to the edict of Mahomed II., of twelve archbishops chosen by the patriarch, who was its president, besides those of Heraclea, Cyzicum, Chalcedon, and Drecos. This body took cognizance of all the affairs of the Greeks, secular as well as sacred; it was the medium of communication between the Greeks and the Porte, and through it were

issued all the firmans of the Sultan regarding them. It was also a court of appeal from the decisions of the bishops. But its most important function was the right of electing a new patriarch on the death or deposition of his predecessor. The latter event was by no means uncommon, owing to the cupidity of the Turkish authorities, who were too ready to listen to the petitions of hostile factions, because on every new election a large sum was paid to the government. So rapid, indeed, were these changes, that a monk of Mount Athos, who had travelled much on begging expeditions for his convent, stated that on different visits to Constantinople, he had paid his homage to twenty-four patriarchs, namely, fourteen grand patriarchs of the Greek church, four of Alexandria, and six of Jerusalem.* Marcus Chylocobares, having obtained his election by a *douceur* to the Sultan, was displaced in consequence of Symeon of Trebizon offering one thousand ducats, while he, in his turn, was ousted by Dionysius of Phillipopolis, who obtained his removal by the deposit of a similar sum. One hundred thousand piastres was subsequently fixed as the installation fee; and as the Porte could not of itself depose the head of the Greek church, it had always sufficient influence with the synod to induce them to second its views, and solicit the installation of a new patriarch. We shall have some idea of the degradation of the Greek church if we suppose that the English government demanded a fee of £1000 on the consecration of every Roman-catholic primate in Ireland,—and that it could manage to have him removed by an ecclesiastical process every four or five years, in order to increase its finances, and meet deficiencies in the budget. Generally, the deposed prelate retired to some part of Asia, and lived on the funds which he had contrived to save during his tenure of office. His income from the sale of church dignities, the registration of wills, and various fees, was such as to enable him to live in splendour, and devote considerable sums to charitable purposes. He was entitled to the property of every deceased monk and recluse throughout the empire, whenever he might die. As a civil magistrate, too, standing between the Greeks and the government, and having the privilege of appearing in person before the throne, he was in the constant receipt of presents, which added largely to his revenue. In this capacity he was assisted by a council and his court, which sat twice a-week, had jurisdiction in all causes among the Greeks, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and had the power of inflicting fines, imprisonment, and even capital punishment. The sentences were carried into effect by the Ottoman executive. Christians sentenced to death by the Turkish tribunals might save

* Walpole's Turkey, i. 213.

their lives by embracing Mohammedanism. But this immunity did not extend to those found guilty in the Greek court, while the patriarch could rescue from death a Christian condemned by the Turks, and have his punishment commuted to confinement in the galleys.

The *Patriarch of Alexandria* is second in rank to him of Constantinople, but far inferior in position. His office is almost a sinecure, while he is despised by the people, who are compelled by the Porte to maintain him. However, he makes up for his want of power and wealth by pompous titles—all that remain to him of the former greatness of his see. He is 'the Pope and Patriarch of Egypt,' 'the Father of Fathers,' 'Pastor of Pastors,' 'Pontiff of Pontiffs,' 'the Third of the Apostles,' and 'Judge of the Universe.' The third of these high ecclesiastical luminaries is the *Patriarch of Antioch*, who has the same titles as his brother of Alexandria, and a little more substantial power. The poorest and weakest of the four is the *Patriarch of Jerusalem*, who is supported by the offerings at the Holy Sepulchre.

The bishops of the eastern empire formerly numbered nearly 1000, but the Ottomans reduced them to 150. Up to the year 1770 the revenues of the minor prelates were considerable, and this, combined with their civil jurisdiction, rendered them almost the sole *noblesse* among their fallen countrymen. But after that year, in consequence of their entering with ardour into the insurrectionary movement which Russia had excited among the Greeks, the Porte seized upon the church property, which was transferred to the mosques and *imarets*, or poor-houses. The bishops and clergy were thus cast upon the voluntary principle, but national pride and devotion so opened the hearts of their people, that at the time of the late revolution the revenues of many of the bishops equalled what they had been when state endowments were received. Their annual visitations through their dioceses were made with great pomp and ostentation; and they were able to give magnificent entertainments to the Turkish governors of the provinces.

The inferior clergy were, as a body, very ignorant and superstitious, little elevated above the peasantry, from which class they were taken, and who placed in their offices and pretensions unbounded trust. Neither constant familiarity in sports and amusements, nor the grossest immorality in the priests, was deemed sufficient to affect the validity of the sacraments. The monks, who were very numerous, were better educated, but not more moral. From them the bishops were selected. For the *papas*, or parish priest, there was no road to promotion open; but he was compensated by the affection and confidence of his poor afflicted people, who often found him their sole faithful friend and

adviser in the hour of persecution and oppression. Thus, as Rabbe remarks, 'whilst the higher clergy were too often looked upon as the agents of tyranny, or the tools of political corruption, the unaspiring priest, in spite of his ignorance, endued as it were with an evangelical instinct,' sympathized with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for the deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a paternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and miseries of those on whom it was bestowed.

When the Russian church declared itself independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the dogmas of the Greek church were more clearly defined. Peter Mogilas, the Russian Archbishop of Kiew, drew up, in the year 1642, an 'Exposition of the Russian Creed,' which was approved of by the bishops of his own church. It was then sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople for his sanction. He appointed a committee of bishops to examine it, who proceeded to Moldavia to have a conference with the deputies of Mogilas, and there they unitedly adopted a common creed, under the title of '*The Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ.*' It was then submitted to the four patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, who, with their respective synods, gave it their solemn sanction, the first three in 1643, and the last in 1672. In 1721 it was publicly acknowledged by Peter the Great, and promulgated as the creed of the national church of Russia, together with the ecclesiastical law, for the guidance of the synod and clergy of his dominions. Thus we see that there is a uniformity of faith and worship between the Russian establishment and all the orthodox churches of the East—a circumstance which accounts for much of the influence of the Czar among the Greek subjects of the Porte, with whom it has been his policy to maintain friendly and intimate intercourse through his own clergy, who are thoroughly devoted to his will.

The practical ascendancy of the Russian church, thus subservient to state purposes, was shown remarkably on the establishment of the kingdom of Greece. On the arrival of King Otho, the clergy expressed a decided wish to be free from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was necessarily, from his position, the tool of the Sultan, and was therefore likely to pervert his authority to political purposes. In compliance with the unanimous desire of the clergy and people of emancipated Greece, a committee was appointed by the government to confer with the prelates 'respecting the political independence of the Greek church and the appointment of a synod.' They met accordingly in July, 1833, to consider these two points—1. 'The solemn and irrevocable declaration of independence of the Greek

church from any external power or foreign influence, "without prejudice to the unity of faith." 2. The appointment of a permanent synod, "*to be nominated by the king, which should form the supreme ecclesiastical authority, in imitation of the Russian church.*"

These points, after some debate, were unanimously adopted by the bishops, and in pursuance of their resolutions, Otho published the 'Declaration of the Independence of the Greek Church,' under the title of 'The Orthodox Oriental Apostolic Church of the Kingdom of Greece.' In the royal proclamation, which is the charter of this little church establishment, it is decreed, that 'the highest ecclesiastical authority *under the supremacy of the king* is vested in the hands of a permanent synod, called the sacred synod of the kingdom of Greece. The king will appoint a secretary of state to exercise in his stead *the jurisdiction over the church*, and to whom, *in this respect, the synod is subject*. The synod is composed of five members—viz., a president and four councillors. The king reserves to himself the right of appointing supernumerary members to carry on the business of the church during the illness or the absence of the ordinary members. The president and councillors must be either metropolitans, archbishops, or bishops. The synod will be constituted every year, but the members may be reappointed.

Such is the constitution of the established church of Greece—a servile copy in miniature of Russian absolutism. Nothing more thoroughly Erastian can well be conceived. There is, of course, the usual exemption of 'spiritual' matters from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. He may not alter the articles of faith, or the forms and ceremonies of divine service, nor interfere with ecclesiastical discipline, but 'every Greek is at liberty to claim the protection of the government if he considers himself unjustly treated by any ecclesiastical authority.'

Passing from the Czar's church, and its imitation by King Otho, we find the Greek church extending from the boundaries of the Russian empire on the north to the extreme hills of Abyssinia on the south.

'It is true,' says Dean Waddington, 'that the continuity of this province of Christ's kingdom is interrupted by the vast but thinly-peopled tracts which spread their barrenness from Egypt to Sennaar; but of the rich and populous countries which lie between those distant extremities some are exclusively, and all are partly, inhabited by Christians. The great majority of the Oriental Christians remain attached to the orthodox faith; for besides the Wallachians, Moldavians, Servians, and Greeks properly so called, there are many thousands who, under that name, and professing that faith, are scattered through Bulgaria and the broad extent of Roumelia, Albania, and Asia Minor, and they

are even mixed, though in much smaller numbers, with the heretics of Syria, Assyria, and Egypt. These heretics are divided by the Greek theologians into four descriptions—the Armenians, Copts, Maronites, and Jacobites. The Maronites are Syrians, chiefly inhabitants of Mount Libanus, and profess the Roman-catholic faith.’—p. 5.

The inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia are nearly all members of the Greek church, which is the established church of the country, and its exclusive privileges are jealously guarded. Indeed, no mosque is allowed in the country, nor are any Turks permitted to reside in it, except under special circumstances. The Hospodars must be members of the Greek church, to which belongs about a third of the landed property. The tenants who occupy this church-property are not a whit better off than those who endure the oppression of the Boyars, who are decidedly the most corrupt, worthless, and contemptible aristocracy in Christendom. They monopolize all offices, live in effeminate luxury in Bucharest or Vienna, and aid every new Hospodar to oppress the unfortunate people with arbitrary taxes, wherewith he repays himself the sums he gave for his office. Dean Waddington thus describes the appearance of Wallachia when he saw it thirty years ago:—

‘A little Turkish wheat and a few straggling vines on the hill-sides; rich and extensive plains scarcely tracked by any road; rare and dismal cottages, disfigured by filth and misery; and a population whose face and rags bespeak the extremity of poverty and oppression. Such are the features of this province, and such the objects which attend you almost to the gates of the capital. Bucharest is a very extensive place, containing a varying population, of which the average may be 50,000 or 60,000; and as it consists almost entirely of large misshapen palaces and wretched huts, it presents a very faithful picture of the political condition of the people: for, as if their government, which is a despotism within a despotism, did not occasion a sufficiency of misery, the cup is filled by the avarice of a stupid and ignorant nobility; to these the offices of state are generally sold and made profitable by oppression.’—p. 6.

With this description accords the graphic pictures of Wallachia and its capital given by the special correspondent of the ‘Daily News,’ in his admirable ‘Letters from the Seat of War.’ Time has wrought no improvement in the condition of the people, and cannot while the old system of government lasts; and it has now been unfortunately restored under the auspices of the Austrians, who have an army of occupation in Bucharest. All that has been said of this province is true also of Moldavia. But it is remarkable, that in the neighbouring province of Bulgaria, inhabited partly by Mohammedans and partly by Christians, and under the *immediate* government of the Porte, the land is much better cultivated, the

villages are more decent, and the people are more industrious and more prosperous. This shows how little it avails to have the rulers of the same race and creed with the people, if the system of government is oppressive and corrupt. Nowhere in Turkey are Christians more degraded than in the Danubian Principalities, where so many special privileges and exemptions were guaranteed to them by the protection of the Czar. The whole population of the two provinces is supposed not to exceed a million.

The doctrines of the Greek church do not differ essentially from those of the church of Rome. She maintains the doctrine of the Trinity as it was established by the first two general councils, and thus differs from the orthodox creed of the Western churches respecting the manner of the procession of the Holy Spirit, which is held to be from the Father *only*, and not from the Father *and the Son*. She inculcates the doctrine of salvation through faith in the atonement; but this faith must comprehend or produce good works, and be accompanied by genuine repentance. The existence of purgatory is denied, and the Roman dogma of indulgences strongly condemned; but from the earliest ages down to the present time, the orthodox Greeks have ever held two separate places of existence for the souls of the departed. The faithful are not in a state of perfect beatitude, but only one of rest and expectancy until the resurrection of the body and the general judgment, when they will pass to the eternal abodes of blessedness; and in the meantime they are assisted by the prayers of the church. Lost souls are in regions of darkness, discomfort, and sorrow; from which they can never be released till they pass to eternal misery. There is no intermediate state of purification.

The Greeks agree with the Latins in the reception of seven 'Mysteries,' or Sacraments. Baptism is still administered in the East by trine immersion. 'The Greeks,' says Dean Waddington, 'set great value on the strict observance of that ceremony, and warmly maintain their orthodoxy against the innovations of the Latin church, by pleading the example of our Saviour himself, and the very meaning of the word baptism, which implies immersion; and the consent of that original and genuine Catholic church, which they assert to be perpetuated in their own.' Children are baptized on the eighth day, and confirmation follows almost immediately.

In regard to the Eucharist, the doctrine of the real presence, or transubstantiation, is thus expressed in the Oriental Confession:—'When the priest consecrates the elements (gifts), the very substance of the bread and of the wine is transformed into the substance of the true body and blood of Christ.' But they do not prostrate themselves before the host to adore it, except in the act of consecration, nor expose it in public to be worshipped, nor

carry it in procession, nor have they instituted any festival in honour of it. Leavened bread is used in the sacrament ; and according to Mr. Strong, the Bavarian consul at Athens, in his work entitled 'Greece as a Kingdom,' the bread is soaked in the wine, and given to the communicants with a spoon.

The sacrament of *Penance*, in the Greek church, embraces auricular confession, which is strictly enforced, and held to be of the highest importance—'the sole axle on which the globe of ecclesiastical polity turns ;' and its doctors admit that without it the whole fabric of church power would fall to ruin. Confession has little or no effect on the conduct, except to increase immorality. Brigands, and others who lead lives of crime, prepare for their work by obtaining the priest's absolution.

The festivals are exceedingly numerous. When Otho went to Greece, and set about establishing law and order, he found that the holidays were as numerous as the working days, and that the consequence was idleness, vice, and poverty among the people. All but those which the church held to be of imperative obligation were therefore abolished. The use of images or statues in places of worship, the Greeks hold to be idolatrous. But they admit pictures, provided, however, that they are as rude and graceless as possible, and devoid of all life-like expression, lest the relief and animation of a fine painting should produce the effect of sculpture. Like the Romanists, they say that they use pictures only as 'the books of the ignorant' to help their devotions. They boast, notwithstanding, that their sacred pictures are much more fruitful in miracles than those of the Latin church. The cross is worshipped equally in the Eastern and Western churches, receiving the names and attributes of Deity, and the sign of it is very frequent among the Greeks, and believed to be fraught with extraordinary virtue. Lighted tapers and torches are used in the sunshine of a Grecian sky, in commemoration of the martyrs, who were obliged to hide in caves ; and long pompous processions are very numerous. To the Virgin Mary they assign the same place as the Roman Catholics, and the saints whose intercession is sought are more numerous than the days of the year :—

'To arrest the ravages of a pestilence, or to compose the agitations of an earthquake, or to allay the danger of unseasonable drought, persons of every class, in every isle and valley of Greece, proceed in lengthened order, winding along the mountain side to some gloomy grotto of the Virgin, or St. George, or St. Spiridion, in devout confidence that vows, by such imposing solemnities enforced, will not be offered up in vain. . . . Besides these occasional solemnities, ordinary processions are common in every part of Greece, in honour of martyrs or saints, or the relics of saints. But the Holy Virgin, in spite of the

little commendation she derives from pictorial representation, is everywhere the favourite object of devotion.'—p. 31.

By the word *Liturgy*, the Greeks understand only the communion service, and as to the rest, it varies on every day in the year, and in every part of the day. According to Dr. King, the whole body of the services is sufficient to fill twenty folio volumes, besides one similar volume, which contains directions for the use of the rest. Very few of the most learned priests succeed in mastering these volumes, although to them their studies are almost exclusively directed. In performing divine service the priest turns to the East, and reads in such a low and hurried voice, that the congregation cannot hear what he says; nor do they think it necessary, for they regard him more as a mediator with God than as the guide of their devotions. Dr. Waddington describes the manner of some of the priests as 'indecent and impious' in the celebration of the mass, and he has seen the Eucharist 'administered with a smile.' Yet this levity does not affect their clerical standing with the people, whose moral prostration animates the audacity of their spiritual guides, and they fail not to satisfy the craving they have excited by very gross and impudent impostures. Among the most rife of their superstitions are charms and incantations, votive and propitiatory offerings, the *φίλτρα* and the *φάρμακα*, which have descended with the temples and statues from heathen times.

The worst and most shameful of their impostures, however, is the miracle of the Holy Fire, which is performed on Easter Saturday in the Holy Sepulchre and the little chapel annexed to it, which forms a separate building within the church on Mount Calvary. The fire which, as they pretend, is miraculously kindled, is designed to represent that which came down from Heaven in answer to the prayers of Elijah. There men and women of every Christian name are annually assembled, and the pilgrims crowd all the approaches to the spot, and all the sacred precincts of the sepulchre of the Redeemer. How are they occupied in the awful interval of suspense which precedes the miracle?—

'Not in prayers, or in any serious meditation, not even in crossing or prostration, or any vain ceremony of worship. So far were they removed from any such feeling, that they selected that particular moment for indulgence in buffooneries and indecencies far surpassing the extravagance of any Italian carnival. They ran and dragged each other round the sepulchre; they mounted on each other's shoulders; they built themselves up in pyramids; they hung by their heels naked or half naked; they performed the circuit of the Holy Chapel tumbling like mountebanks. The shouts and the shrieks from so many voices, in so many languages, sharpened with oriental shrillness, sur-

passed any idea that can be formed by the languid imaginations of the West. And the spectacle was rendered still more various, and the uproar more discordant, by the violent proceedings of the Turkish and Albanian soldiers, in their vain attempt to tranquillize fanaticism by blows.'—p. 39.

Such is the description of Dean Waddington, himself an eye-witness.

'Very soon after,' he continues, 'we observed a glimmering through the orifices of the Holy Chapel; it increased to a flame, and instantly became perceptible to the crowd. The shout which announced this event, the completion of the miracle, was the prelude to an exhibition of madness surpassing all that had preceded. The more zealous or more vigorous fanatics pressed towards the chapel, that they might obtain a more genuine light by the immediate application of their tapers to the Divine fountain; and the eagerness of those behind to participate, though less perfectly, in the blessing, brought on a struggle with those who were nearer the sanctuary, and who were anxious to carry away their own light uncontaminated; but in this they seldom succeeded; and thus the fire was communicated with extreme rapidity, and in less than five minutes the whole church presented an uninterrupted blaze of several thousand tapers and torches. In the meantime the two priests, whose entrance has been mentioned, were carried out of the chapel on the shoulders of some favoured devotees, each of them waving a celestial torch of the purest flame, which not one among the fanatic crowd either believed or suspected to be the creation of their own impious hands.'—p. 40.

As the monastic system originated in the east, and as the gloomy fanaticism of Syria and Egypt was relieved by the talents and eloquence, as well as the more cheerful temperament of the Greek recluses in the earliest ages, it has always been a predominant element in the orthodox Oriental church. Monasteries were erected in the most commanding and beautiful situations, and the elevation and repose, the conveniences and consideration which they imparted, attracted large numbers of the superstitious, the enthusiastic, and the ambitious. The Greek idea of the conventual life was, that the monks became an *anathema* for their brethren who remained in the world a prey to its storms and temptations. According to Stourdza—'L'institution des ordres monastiques n'est fondée que sur l'idée fondamentale d'une expiation volontaire d'un innocent pour le coupable.'

Two considerations tended to raise the monasteries of Greece in public estimation. From them the bishops and patriarchs of the Greek church were almost invariably selected, and they served as asylums which often supplied the place of a protecting government during those dreary ages when the empire existed in a state of miserable weakness. In this character they were

respected even by the Turkish authorities from the first; and in the most troubled times, when Mohammedan fanaticism broke out with greatest fury, the Christian sanctuaries were rarely violated. When the monks returned to their convent on Mount Helicon, after the revolution, they found the following inscription on the principal gate:—‘The Albanians in the Mussulman army have prevented the Turks from destroying this convent, because they hold it sacred, and have frequently used it as an asylum.’ More delightful retreats for literary pursuits can hardly be imagined than the Greek convents. Living under the clearest sky, in the most genial climate, amidst the finest mountain scenery, surrounded by woods whose perennial verdure is fed by ever-living streams, and commanding the most glorious views of the sea studded with lovely islands, raised far above the noxious exhalations of the plains, and the noisy disputes of the villages, the *caloyer* might pursue his meditations undisturbed, and make the world the better of his learned leisure. But either from indolence, or from a passionate love of nature, he seldom troubles himself with reading or writing. A Russian monk was once asked by a traveller to what books his solitary studies were directed. He replied only by pointing to the earth and the heavens.

The monks consist partly of *caloyers*, or priests, and partly of lay brethren, the former devoted wholly to the wearisome observances enjoined by the system, which is uniform throughout the Greek churches, the latter attending to worldly affairs, and providing for the temporal wants of the fraternity. These tend the cattle, and cultivate with their own hands the corn-fields, the vineyards, and the olive grounds, gathering in or disposing of the produce, so that the fathers may not come into contact with a polluting world at all, except when they travel in rotation to beg for the convent.

If the regular clergy are thus too far removed from their fellow-men in the common affairs of life, the secular clergy are too closely mixed up with them, and are ‘companions of the people rather than instructors,’ enduring a common lot of poverty and degradation, and bearing all their privations with the buoyant energy and cheerfulness which belong to the national character.

The Eastern hierarchy has always wanted the coherence, the persistent policy, the strong supremacy, the patient discipline, and the steady aim at dominion which characterize the papacy. The following comparison of the two systems from the pen of Dean Waddington is strictly correct, and points out one at least of their distinctive features:—

‘These remarks enable us first to observe, in continuation of our comparison of the Greek and Latin churches, how complete is the con-

trast between the actual condition of the patriarch and that of the pope. Divided by the narrow Adriatic, on the one side we see wealth, pretension, and the assumption of temporal power; on the other, poverty, insecurity, and helpless dependence. We next perceive, with respect to the system of government in either case,—as that of Rome is still distinguished by an active and patient discipline, which studies to attach the ministers to each other and the people to the ministry, and which has been directed zealously and sedulously through above twelve centuries to that object; so the other would rather deserve the contrary reproach of looseness, and incoherence, and insubordination. It is easy to say that such is the necessary consequence of its subjection to foreign oppression, and that a body which has been deprived of the power of independent action will lose its internal energies with its power. This is true; but if we refer to the earlier history of that church, and trace it from the days of Constantine to those of Paleologus, we shall not find that it was at any period animated by that deliberate spirit of domination which marked the progress and which marks the decay of Rome.

‘For, in the first place, the patriarch of the East has at no time affected temporal sovereignty, nor claimed any authority over princes; and as he has not arrogated the lofty character of the Roman, he has not been compelled to establish any system, or commit any crimes to preserve it. Therefore the privileges of the clergy of Greece continue nearly in their original condition; and the monastic order escaped the various corruptions which overspread it in the West, as soon as it became useful to the ambition and necessary to the despotism of the popes. Again; the entire subjection of the lower orders to spiritual authority has never become so absolute a church maxim in the East as under popish rule; or, if the principle be common to both churches, at least it has not been carried into effect there with so much deliberate industry. In these and in other points their characters have been widely different, from the moment that either can be said to have assumed a distinct character; and as that of Greece has generally been free from the restlessness which has habitually agitated the other, it is exempt also from the systematic innovations which have thus been successively introduced, not into the doctrines only, but into the government and discipline of the Latin church.’—p. 56.

ART. II.—*A History of India under the first two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humáyun.* By William Erskine, Esq. Two Volumes. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THE close of the fifteenth century introduced a remarkable period in the history of man. The great unsettled confederacies, which, up to that date, had existed, began to form themselves into solid empires. They had long, indeed, acknowledged supreme heads,

but the various states were virtually isolated and independent. No general compact, acknowledged by the superior potentates of Christendom maintained a recognised system, or held the balance of power. Each pursued its own course, regardless of external influences. In Spain, a crowd of little kingdoms divided the sovereignty of a rich soil and an active population. In France, the grand feudatories of the crown were vassals only in name, and by the extent of their dominions, the strength of their arms, and the fierceness of their character, were often more formidable to the central throne, than that throne was to them. In England no monarch had taught the barons how to submit, or how to become less haughty ; but, as the sixteenth century drew near, new principles sprung out of extraordinary events, and a change came over the political aspects of Europe. A depressed and broken aristocracy in England, emaciated by civil wars, began to unite under the House of Tudor, not because their jealousies were at an end, but because their forces were exhausted. Had they, indeed, ceased from their rancorous emulation, each might have been content to hold his own ; but the supremacy which neither would yield to the other, they all offered, in pure malice, to the king, who was courageous and adroit enough to profit by their dissensions. The French, after expelling their English invaders, joined their great fiefs, one by one, under a single sceptre. The Spaniards, by conquest and marriages, and the sense of a common danger, were gradually brought under one authority. Thus the fires that had desolated three of the finest countries in Europe, continued only to rage in the German and Italian states. But the accidents which made Charles V. a distinguished monarch, aided in accelerating the main result. His vast acquisitions rendered him an object of terror to the other Christian sovereigns. They were jealous of his glory, and fearful of his ambition. Out of these feelings arose naturally that new policy known as *the balance of power* ; for in order to keep one mighty rival within bounds, nations began to agree that none should enlarge its territories so as to become dangerous to the rest. Cupidity and blindness often broke this public European law ; but an international system was at last acknowledged, and had the effect of giving permanence to states and kingdoms.

This historical process we have glanced at, because it supplies a parallel to something very similar which happened in Asia, though in different ways, and not to the same extent. Immense conquests had been made by those soldiers of genius known popularly as Jenghiz and Tamarlane, by which names—since they are familiar—we prefer to designate them. These acquisitions were moulded into empires of vast proportions, which after-

wards, when the minds that first surveyed and ruled them had departed, broke into smaller kingdoms which carried on struggles among themselves, until, after the balance of power had begun to be established in Christendom, permanent states first rose, amid the subsiding fermentations of politics in the East.

A brilliant, but terrible power had long been advancing from Asia, and threatening the civilization of Europe. The rapidity with which the Ottoman Sultans swept the world, from their original borders as far as Egypt, surprised and alarmed all the Christian potentates. But as their neighbours increased in power, the progress of their legions was checked, and Europe, perhaps, owed as much to the victories of other Tartar chiefs as to the achievements of the pious and gallant knights who fought with consecrated arms against the enemies of their religion, their manners, and their liberties.

In that great repository, in which are deposited the historical trophies and achievements of the human race, the Tartars occupy too retired a position. Their influence on the destinies of the world has been immense; they have nurtured the greatest conquerors; and though they have accomplished little for which future gratitude will attach to their name, the part they have played in the grand but sad arena of imperial conflicts, has been so illustrious that history must give them its volumes, and become splendid by narrating the acts and fortunes of their race. The southern countries of Asia and of Europe have from the most distant ages been exposed to invasions from the north, which has poured out its migratory inhabitants, century after century, to exchange their native wilds for more genial and fruitful regions—entering some, and quitting them like a storm, but settling in others, and displacing the original tenants of the soil. In ancient times, these hosts, which issued from the great nursery of conquerors round the Arctic circle, were Scythians, Germans, or Gauls; but in later ages they have been, in Asia, the Tartar tribes alone.

The name Tartar has been rendered familiar only since the twelfth century. European writers have generally comprehended under it that family of the human species, which ranges over the immense territory extending from the Himalaya Mountains, from the river Oxus, from the Euxine, and the Caspian Sea, as far as the Northern Ocean. The tribes dwelling there may differ from each other in language, and even in origin; but the appellation, by Christian historians, is applied to them all, though it is unknown to themselves as a general term, and never properly belonged even to any considerable proportion of them. It seems originally to have belonged to that nation which we now, whether philosophically or not, distinguish as Mongols or Moguls, and by

one of those expansions so common to foreigners, has been erroneously applied to nearly the whole of the inhabitants of northern Asia. It is hopeless at this day to rectify the error, as well as by no means desirable, since a general denomination is necessary, and if the familiar one were dropped, a new one quite as false would probably be invented.

There are historical traces of eruptions from the Tartar deserts towards the south in very remote ages ; but they began to overflow in huge volumes, and to acquire a permanent ascendancy in modern times, immediately before and after the tenth century. Large bodies of them traversed the frontiers and settled in the dominions of the Saracen khalifs; two hundred years later they followed, in enormous legions, the standard of Jenghiz Khan, and more than a century after they broke out of their wilderness on every side, to triumph and plunder at the signal of Amir Taimur, so celebrated in the west as Tamarlane.

Adopting the appellation of Tartars, we find the tribes included under it consisting of three grand divisions or races, all differing from each other in language, institutions, and manners. The first are the Tunguses and Mantchus, in the east of Asia, north of China. The second are the Mongols, or, as they are called by the Persians and Indians, the Moghuls, who are settled chiefly in the central territories north of Tibet, and far westward in the deserts untraced by geography and untravelled by explorers. The third are the Turks, who have held, during many centuries, the large regions stretching still westward of the Mongols, from the wilderness of Koli, as far as the Wolga and the Don. On the south, they spread to the Caspian lake, on the north to Siberia. A few tribes, belonging to each division, are found out of these territorial limits ; but the Turks occupy the largest country, are the most numerous, and fill, perhaps, the most conspicuous portion of Tartar history. That family of them which settled in European Turkey is only a limited branch, since, though Ottomans are all Turks, there are millions of Turks quite distinct from the Ottoman nation. In fact, each of the main divisions of the Tartar race is broken down into an infinite number of smaller tribes, generally independent of each other, managing separately their own concerns, and particularized by special names. Though, for the sake of convenience, the appellations Mantchu and Mongol are used, these names are unknown to the nations which bear them. The tribes, however, who speak the Turki tongue, appear to acknowledge themselves as Turks.

Divided as they are, the Tartar races are, nevertheless, united by customs and institutions prevailing among them all. They are invariably, in their own regions, pastoral ; indeed, they could not be otherwise. Each nation has its own range of wander-

ings, within which it moves from spot to spot ; carrying its families, flocks, and habitations from colder to warmer regions, from scarce to abundant pastures, from dried up or bitter water-pools, to sweet and copious springs. This necessity, common to them all, has produced uniform customs. All their dwellings consist of tents or moveable huts ; flocks of cattle, sheep, and horses, constitute their wealth ; milk is their principal food, to which is occasionally added a little flesh ; and they despise the cultivation of the ground as well as those people who live on corn, or, as they contemptuously express it, on the top of a weed. These barbarians are right, unless our modern philosophers are wrong, who tell us that everything should be eaten in its natural state—grapes unfermented, and, therefore, if they are consistent, corn should be eaten in its natural state, which is a poor and worthless weed.

The women attend to all domestic cares, watch the children, prepare food and clothing, and assist in tending the flocks. The men, when they reach a country containing game, delight in the chase, and live like centaurs, perpetually mounted. Such an existence nurtures them in habits of fatigue, renders them careless of privation, accustoms them to the quick movements of soldiers, and has frequently, when Russian conquest found its way into their homes, driven back the enemy with shame and loss. The Czars have recognised these qualities, and their Cossack troops are imitations of the Tartar hordes ; but the desert-bred horseman dwindles under the whip of the drum-major, and is no longer able to stand the shock of his old brothers by blood, the Ottomans, who sprang originally from the same soil, and enjoyed the same independence as his forefathers.

This independence is a characteristic of the Tartar nations, and they lose it when they are transplanted. Their form of government, though not uniform, is generally some modification of the patriarchal ; the spirit of a clan unites each tribe ; hereditary usages have the power of laws, and the elders, or 'grey-beards,' are consulted on occasions of importance or danger.

Of the three races thus distinguished, and thus inhabiting those deserts, the most eastern, or the Mantchus, though their historical achievements have been considerable, merit the least attention. They are far from being so brilliant as the other nations of the same family. About two hundred years ago, they marched over high mountains, and conquered China, where they have since remained, savage and unteachable, and whence they will probably be expelled. During earlier inroads, many of their race had already been established within the Chinese frontier ; but they continued unknown to the historians of Persia and of India, and never exercised any direct or perceptible influence on the fortunes

of those countries. Once, indeed, in our own days, a Mantchu army looked down on the valley of the Ganges from the heights above Nepaul, but they were driven into Tibet, and never appeared again.

But the Mongols or Moguls, who were seated between the Mantchus and the Turks, played a most important part, though for a brief period, in the history of Asia. For several ages, the different Tartar races or tribes in the north had carried on war with each other, uninterrupted by the surrounding nations, when Jenghiz Khan, the chief of a small and obscure tribe called Mongols, having suffered many misfortunes, was at length restored to authority, and became conspicuous among the heroes who were celebrated in desert songs. The young damsels who chaunted in their tents every evening, promised victory to the young chief, who was followed with ardent love by every warrior in the camp. Gradually he subdued a number of the tribes around, and united them into one martial nation. At the head of this confederacy he suddenly appeared in China, cut to pieces the native armies, and set up his throne in Pekin. Yet there he refused to stay, though with such a bright and rich empire at his feet. He returned into Tartary, and attacked the most powerful tribes, compelling them one by one to own his sovereignty, until he found himself in command of a host in which each legion was like a nation. Already he reigned as far as the Persian borders; but Europe was still ignorant of the terrible genius which had sprung up in a region beyond the scope of her curiosity. Swiftly, however, he followed the way which others of the same race had previously opened, crossed the Taxartes, marched through the rich, populous, and refined countries of Central Asia, and whenever he came to a city, paused to sack and plunder it. His ravages swept over Khorassan and the encircling provinces, over Persia and Armenia, and, in another direction, as far as the Indies, where it is now included within our empire. Not yet content, he added to the increasing surface of his sway the wide plains of Khozars and Kumans, beyond the Caspian.

The march of his army was like a plague. The Tartars killed and mutilated as if their victims had not been human. A dreadful track of ruin marked the course by which they went and came. It was their policy to leave no enemy that could rise up in their rear, so that they slaughtered all, except such women and youths as were beautiful enough to be sold at great prices into servitude. Massacres became their daily delight, and such wide regions did they drench with blood, that the word Mogul is still used as a malediction in the East. The imaginary beings, known in our nurseries as Ogres, derived their ideas and their name from the Oighurs, a tribe which first resisted Jenghiz Khan, and

then marched in the van of his armies, when they overran the east of Europe. So ferocious and cannibal were they, that at the sight of them women died, and children were smitten with insanity. The successors of Jenghiz made full use of the Tartar thirst for carnage. On one side, into Southern China, on the other, as far as Vienna, they carried the alarm of their victories; and had the inheritors of this enormous dominion possessed the genius of him who founded it, all the princes of Christendom might have been forced to league, that civilization itself might not be rooted up by Asiatic savages. Within one century, however, this empire, which had spread from the Korean Sea to the Adriatic, had dissolved, and was replaced by a number of separate kingdoms, which, in the year 1400, were annihilated by Tamarlane.

The Mogul supremacy, therefore, lasted about seventy years in a solid state, and about a hundred more as an imperfect confederacy. Yet, rapidly as it passed away, the renown of Jenghiz Khan was so brilliant, that every Mussulman sovereign in Asia is to this day flattered if genealogists can trace the sources of his lineage to the blood of the first Mogul. Nevertheless, the Mogul power has so utterly disappeared in the South, that one little tribe alone, between Herat and Kabul, exists to show that the mighty Jenghiz ever ruled across the Taxartes river.

Third in order, but greatest in fame, is the Turki nation. They possessed originally a vast region, occasionally encroached upon by the Moguls, but, on the other hand, much extended by conquest. They seized the surrounding territories nearly as far as Moscow, on one side, and Moldavia on the other; while, in a third direction, they migrated into the deserts which intersect Khorassan and Persia.

In their own territories, the Turks have always remained pastoral and simple. Beyond them, they have frequently made splendid displays of their national character. They have, in the most cultivated parts of the East, acquired and transmitted an influence superior to that of the original inhabitants. They served in the palaces and armies of the Khalifs, and many a slave of the Turki race rose in the course of years to wear the purple and bear the regalia. Gradually the nation itself grew into ascendancy; they led their flocks into Turkey and Persia, degraded sovereigns into subjection, and founded many kingdoms, of which the traces still remain. While they proceeded in this triumphant career, the sun of Jenghiz suddenly blazed over Asia and eclipsed them for a time. Not one of their chiefs was yet equal to him. But his brief empire passed away, while theirs incessantly spread; the Ottoman dominion was planted, and a power was thus born which alone of the Tartar monarchies

survived and became a part of the system of the modern political world.

At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, Amir Taimur, or Tamarlane, arose. Under his command a Tartar deluge broke out of the North through all the countries to the south of the Caspian Sea, into Syria and Asia Minor, and, under the same invader, into India as far as Delhi. Contemporaneously, the Mameluke dynasty was established in Egypt, and thus the Turki family of Tartars for centuries ruled a great portion of the old world, and have left to the present day memorials of their government and their manners, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the desert on the Yenesei, and from the limits of Hungary and Poland to the farthest boundaries of Hindostan.

While the Tartar tribes were influencing that part of the world which was external to their native deserts, events happened which produced great changes within themselves. Among other occurrences the Uzbek family became, first a tribe, then a nation, and then a confederacy, and then gave birth to one of the greatest conquerors described by history. While the neighbouring populations, having overrun so large a portion of the earth, were dividing the spoil and settling within frontiers, the ancestors of Baber Khan were extending their reputation and their power. The rapid course of fortune which in the East has so often borne a slipper-bearer from his footstool to a throne, carried the descendants of Jenghiz swiftly on their career of success and command. The process by which they gradually combined a number of tribes into a martial union is a narrative full of heroic episodes, but too intricate and too closely studded with names that appear and vanish like shooting stars, to be analyzed or compressed. However, in the fourteenth century, Taimur, the founder of a new dynasty, which flatterers traced to a heavenly lineage, carved an empire out of the waste lands of the world. At his death this vast dominion was divided, and Ferghana, in Central Asia, descended through various hands to Baber, who speedily emulated his great predecessor's renown. It was he who built up the Mogul throne in Hindostan, and this link, connecting his history with our own, drew Mr. Erskine into the study of those exciting events and those wonderful periods in the history of man on which he based the remarkable work suggestive of this article. Had he lived to complete it, there is little doubt that our literature would have been enriched by a book as rare in its character, and as interesting in its contents, as any we possess on the wild and brilliant story of Eastern conquest and rule. As it is, the volumes now published are masterpieces of learning, of criticism, and of narrative. They explore passages of Indian history which had been neglected; they lead us past the pro-

found researches of the French (the English had made none) into the original archives of Asia, and the result is, as we have said, a work which, for integrity and value, has not often been exceeded.

Passing on from the introductory pictures, representing the Tartar races rising in their own deserts and overflowing their natural frontiers, to the lives of Baber and his son Humayun, we follow the course of Tartar conquest in India. Baber was by his flatterers traced to a collateral lineage with Jenghiz Khan, so that the dynasty he founded in Hindostan was called the Mogul.

The vicissitudes of this wonderful man's career may be rapidly recounted to show of what elements the history of such a conqueror consists. He first succeeded to the throne of the little kingdom of Ferghana, which, while still a youth, he had to defend against invaders on all sides. The neighbouring territory of Samarcand, a rich and populous country, was then convulsed by domestic anarchy, and Baber interrupted its revolutions by suddenly taking possession of it. While thus engaged, his brother revolted at home, and, marching to quell him, a rebellion rose behind him, not only in his new dominions in Samarcand, but in Arbejan also, and he lost them both. The campaign restored him the latter, and the former he regained for a short time; but at that juncture a Tartar chief, named Sherbana, suddenly sprang to great power, and, for awhile, the star of Baber was completely eclipsed. He had once to capitulate, and twice to escape from captivity. Nevertheless, his mighty spirit rose under these disasters; he had still the charm of a famous name, and new armies came round his flag. While Sherbana ruled in his paternal kingdom, he marched away and conquered the important territory of Kabul, and then Kandahar, returning occasionally to harass his enemy and rival. Gradually ascending eastward, he entered Sindh, and subdued it; then Moultan fell before his arms, and the splendid region of India lay before him. Thus brought within reach of what had been his nation's greatest ambition, he half forgot the throne he had lost, and four times successively, at the head of a powerful host, he attacked the kings of India. As many times they drove his forces back; but he invaded their frontiers once more, and at last victoriously. From Umballa he marched to Delhi; from Delhi to Agra, and through the provinces around, until the family of Lodi rulers passed away for ever. Not even the Rajpoots could resist his extending authority. Their cavalry was routed; their fortified cities were burned; Baber left them prostrate and crossed the Ganges, gradually increasing the circle of his sway, and at last restoring himself for awhile to the possession of his ancient inheritance in

Central Asia. At his death, in 1530, he left the character of an illustrious monarch, enterprising, ardent, frank, gifted with fine talents himself, and peculiarly sensible of merit in others. He was born while every neighbouring throne was occupied by his relatives. Scarcely was he grown to manhood when not one of these remained; he was the sole remnant of his house, and yet he planted a brilliant and powerful dynasty. Humayun, his successor, with inferior qualities, inherited the same difficulties and perils. His empire had been acquired by his father only five years before, and the labour of conquest was still going on. The people and the chiefs were not unanimous in his favour. The kingdom around Persia, Samarcand, Bokhara, Hissa, Balk, and Hindostan itself, contained many daring spirits aspiring to the throne. We therefore follow Humayun without astonishment, through infinite changes of fortune. We perceive him struggling with armed rivals on every side. After a long conflict, he broke the independence of Central India, and curbed the chiefs of Malwa and Guzerat, though these dominions were scarcely acquired before they were again wrested from him. He next conquered and lost Bengal, and at length fell from the throne of Hindostan, which saw itself once more under the Afghan race of kings. Humayun, at first, enjoyed a fluctuating authority in Sindh, but was speedily a fugitive, and passed from the deserts into Persia, where he began to rise once more. He subdued several countries, while still an exile from his father's empire, and then determined again to seat himself in Agra, which purpose he accomplished only a short period before his death.

The history of Humayun is a wonderful and romantic story; but perhaps one of the most striking episodes in it relates to his brother, who, being faithless to his royal relative, was pursued, assailed, and defeated. Nothing remained but to dispose of him. Now Baber's last command to Humayun was, that however any of his brothers might offend, he should never put one of them to death. Mr. Erskine proceeds to describe the catastrophe. 'Though strongly urged on every side, Humayun obstinately persisted in refusing to imbrue his hands in his brother's blood; but he resolved, by depriving him of his eyesight, to render him unfit for public life. For this purpose he ordered the mirza's servants to be removed from about his person, and supplied their place by some of his own. He instructed his ewer-bearer, Jouher, from whom we have the detailed particulars of this event, to watch the interior of the tent, and on no account to yield to sleep for a moment. Jouher went on duty about afternoon prayers, when the unhappy prince asked for a prayer carpet, and having received it, prostrated himself in prayer.' (Vol. ii. p. 413.)

He asks his guard what is to be done with him, and Jouher evaded a reply by saying, 'His majesty the emperor is most merciful.' Thus the night passed away. Next morning, Humayun gave orders that his brother's eyes should be lanced, and set out on his march, giving orders that the victim should follow him when he had suffered his punishment. The servants, however, disputed about the task, each wishing to put it on another; at last, three of them galloped after the emperor to appeal to him. 'Nobody will do this deed,' said Ali Dost, a chief officer. 'Thou,' exclaimed Humayun, 'what has come over thee? Go thou and do it.' Jouher, the ewer-bearer, tells the sad story:— 'Having received this order, we returned, and Gholam Ali said to the mirza (the emperor's brother), "O mirza, would that Almighty God tore my tongue from the roots rather than that the words I speak should come from my mouth. But for the commands of princes there is no remedy. The orders are to lance your eyes." "Kill me at once," said the mirza. Gholam Ali replied, "None dares so far surpass his orders as to kill you." He then proceeded to execute the work. Having folded a handkerchief, which he had in his hand, into a ball, to serve for a gag, the ferash (an inferior servant) thrust it into the mirza's mouth as he struggled. They then held his hands, dragged him out of the pavilion, laid him on the ground, and struck the lancet into his eyes—such was the will of God—fifty times, more or less. Like a brave man, he did not utter a single groan; but when a man sat down on his knees he said to him, "Why do you sit on my knees? Will you not leave off?" Except this expression, he breathed not a complaint, but maintained a perfect manly firmness, till they poured some lemon-juice and salt into his eyes. Being then tortured beyond endurance, calling on the name of God, he exclaimed aloud, "O Lord! for the offences which I have committed in this world, surely, I have suffered retribution, and may now entertain hopes of my future salvation."'

When Humayun met his sightless brother, he could not refrain from sobbing aloud, and loaded him with affectionate expressions. Such are the miserable acts by which power seeks to preserve itself against that envy which an unnatural elevation excites. Mr. Erskine's history abounds in such illustrations. It is a work, indeed, not often exceeded in interest, and it decides the reputation of its author.

- ART. III.—*Constable's Miscellany of Foreign Literature.*—*Hungarian Sketches in Peace and War.* From the Hungarian of Moritz Iókai. With Prefatory Notice by Emeric Szabad, Author of 'Hungary Past and Present.' Edinburgh: T. Constable & Co.
2. *Athens and the Peloponnese; with Sketches of Northern Greece.* From the German of Hermann Hettner. pp. 229. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.

HUNGARY, which for centuries has fought the battles of Christendom against Mohammedanism and of Protestant right and liberty against the jesuitical oppression of the Hapsburgs, could seldom exchange the sword for the lyre. Its poetry, full of vigour and nationality, was rarely expressed by the genius of single men; it thrived among the people in tradition and song. Hungary cannot boast of a Shakspeare or Dante, of a Calderon or Schiller; yet the productions of the Hungarian pen which have come to our notice have one characteristic feature which distinguishes even the less brilliant of them from the crowd of modern novels and tales. They all have a national stamp; they reflect manners and customs, feelings and thoughts, original and peculiar. It is this feature which forms the principal charm of the 'Hungarian Sketches in Peace and War' by Moritz Iókai, and which makes the volume before us not only attractive and amusing, but also instructive in regard to the life of a people whose patriotic heroism has roused the admiration of countries until lately ignorant of its rights and merits. Iókai, who, as his translator, Szabad, tells us in his prefatory notice, is one of the most popular of the Hungarian prose writers of fiction that sprang up a few years before the late war,—gives us in his 'Sketches' a bird's-eye view of Hungarian family life, its pastimes and occupations, sufferings and enjoyments, as it presented itself before and during the last struggle, and after its close. Those of the pictures most faithfully drawn after nature are far more striking than those in which the author imitates a foreign style. This is the case in 'Dear Relations,' which, though thoroughly Hungarian in scenery, tobacco-smoke, and names scarcely to be pronounced by Englishmen, might be easily transformed into English caricature and French fun. It is an amusing picture of the troubles and pleasures of Hungarian hospitality, mixed up with the feats and adventures of several young ladies and gentlemen married almost without their knowledge. This portion of the story is evidently an imitation of French *vaudevilles*, whilst the author attempts the style of Dickens. To a wholly different

class belongs 'The Bardy Family,' founded on one of the most tragical episodes of the Hungarian revolution, a Transylvanian family murdered by the savage Wallachian jacquerie because the son of the family has taken up arms in the Hungarian cause. As Iókai writes under Austrian censorship, he, of course, does not venture to mention the Austrian wiles by which the Wallachian mob was incited to acts of barbarism surpassing in horror the cannibalism of the Red-men. He, therefore, had to invent a high-minded Wallachian patriot, who dreams of a glorious Wallachian (Roumin) rule over Transylvania, and endeavours to save the Hungarians falling into the hands of his ruthless gang; and when at last seeing that it was impossible for him to check their lust for plunder and murder, he draws a pistol and discharges it into a cask of gunpowder, destroying himself and his murderous band by the explosion. The next sketch, 'Crazy Marcsa,' takes us to the peasant's dwelling, where we hear the tale of a peasant girl becoming insane by the loss of her lover. The great interest of the story lies in the vivid description of the kind and gentle way in which the Hungarian peasant treats the lunatic, reminding us of the East, where insanity is revered as a visitation of God, and the lunatic treated as a prophet. In Hungary, the sound common sense of the people taught them the very same truth which the philanthropists of England and America preach: that insane persons should not be objects of abhorrence, being invalids entitled to the care and forbearance of the community. In 'Comorn,' the author portrays a specimen of the untrained militia officer, whom General Guyon favours with a practical lesson of courage, by claiming his presence at a fête on the top of the bastion, exposed to the fire of the enemy. 'Mor Perczel' is a piece of biography which relates the predictions of a somnambulist verified by the fate of the Hungarian leader, Perczel, who from a deputy in the diet became a general in the army, and whose imagination was so much struck by the prophecies, that they, in fact, influenced his actions. We feel greatly amused when we enter the house of 'Gergely Szonkolyi,' an excellent Hungarian tyrant, henpecked, not by an amiable wife, but by a dragon-like step-mother, who vainly tries to frustrate the successful stratagems in love of a student unsuccessful at school. Not less diverting is the anecdote of 'The Unlucky Weathercock,' an ill-fated Viennese nail-smith, who, little understanding the application of expediency at the right time, shouts 'Hurrah for freedom' at the arrival of the Austrians, and is naturally locked up. The Austrians are beaten, the Hungarians return, the political prisoners are released, but the poor fellow, unaware of the change, now shouts, 'Hurrah for glorious Austria,' and is again taken to prison by Master Iános, the time-serving police corporal of the

Metternich school, an accomplished diplomatist in low life. The plot of a sentimental tale in the German style, 'The Two Brides,' is founded on an incident but too common in civil and revolutionary wars. Two sisters are betrothed to two officers, who, in the course of events, are thrown into opposite ranks. The following sketch, 'The Brewer,' carries us back to the time of the French invasion, and to the battle of Raab in 1809, when the Hungarian patriotic army took discretion for the better part of valour. The Hungarians formerly avoided every allusion to this disgraceful campaign, but since their brilliant victories in 1848 and 49 they well may smile with Iókai at that ludicrous episode. The author rises to sublime pathos in the 'Szekely Mother,' describing the destruction of the village of Kezdi-Vasarhely by the women at the approach of the Russians, after the men had all followed General Bem, and were slain on the field of battle. 'A Ball' is a charming anecdote of the Hungarian struggle in which the chivalry of the officers of the patriotic army is displayed.

The variety of features in the 'Sketches'—not one of the characters resembling the other, whilst all are eminently Hungarian,—is an evidence of the superior talents of Iókai. The able translator has added a prefatory notice touching on Hungarian literature, on which, we are sorry to say, he did not bestow the same thought and care as on the translation. Whilst mentioning Lazarus Horváth, Frankenburg, and Vachot, editors of flippant literary papers, he forgets the one-sided, but by far more important, *Athenæum*, conducted by Baiza, Toldi, and Vörösmarty, the last of whom, undoubtedly, is the greatest of Hungarian poets, equal in every respect to Bishop Tegnér of Sweden, Miczkievitz of Poland, and Victor Hugo of France. That the literary influence of Kossuth's celebrated daily paper, the 'Pesti Hirlap,' should not have been mentioned by a Hungarian exile is rather surprising, though he probably may have thought that the English public is familiar with it.

Iókai's 'Hungarian Sketches' form the first volume of 'Constable's Miscellany of Foreign Literature,' which is designed to supply to the British public, in a portable form, and at a cheap price, some of the best 'accessions which the literature of the globe is constantly receiving.' The design is a good one, and we congratulate Messrs. Constable on the good taste of their first selection, and trust that their enterprise will prove as profitable as it is interesting and instructive. There is one feature of their plan which we specially approve, and are desirous of holding up to the imitation of their class. 'Where no legal copyright in this country,' they say, 'can be claimed by the author or publisher of a work of which they may avail themselves, an equitable share of any profit which may arise from its sale will be

set aside for his advantage.' This is as it should be, and we shall be glad to find so honorable an example extensively followed. We conclude with a few extracts from M. Iókai's 'Sketches,' from which our readers will learn more of the volume than from any description we can give.

'A HUNGARIAN SQUIRE.

'Uncle Lorincz belonged to that medium class whose duty is to manage the laws and rights of the people, keep up their national prerogatives, look after their interests; in short, to labour without noise or fame—a man of whom neither history nor poets speak, for the upright and honourable man is not so rare a character among us as to render it necessary to emblazon his name in history; and what could a poet make of an honest man, who has neither romance enough to carry off his neighbour's wife, nor to shoot his best friend through the head for looking askance at him? Such a man as Uncle Lorincz, for instance, who comes into the world without the aid of a star or horoscope, grows up without becoming a virtuoso on the piano, goes through his classes satisfactorily, and without occasioning any mutiny, and, finally, returns like a dutiful son to his parents, who assist him to look out for a good wife, whom he marries without any poetical occurrences; and who, when his parents are gathered to their fathers, inherits their blessing and their property unencumbered by debt; for this class of our countrymen consider debt as a species of crime, their principle being that an honest man should not spend more than his income. This principle had taken such root in Uncle Lorincz's mind, that, rather than run up an account at the shoemaker's, he has been known, in his scholar days, to feign illness, and keep his room, when his boots needed mending, until the necessary money arrived from home; and the same sense of honour, combined with the most lavish hospitality, characterized him through life.

'Having been directly called upon by the county, he had accepted the situation of szolgabiro, or sheriff—which the Hungarian takes upon himself *ex nobili officio*—from a generous sense of duty rather than for the lucrative advantages attached to it, which by no means compensate for the dinners he is obliged to give; but he readily makes a sacrifice for the honour of the employment and the confidence of the people in that incorruptible conscience which is chosen as the earthly providence of an entire district, to keep order and administer justice among twenty or thirty thousand people.'—p. 3.

'RESULTS OF WAR.

'There were churches in Comorn unrivalled in Hungary for their beautiful frescoes. There was the great Universal Academy, opposite the Reformed Church; the old County-house, crowning three streets; the gigantic Town-hall; the great Military Hospital; the fine row of buildings on the Danube, which gave the town the air of a great city;

the High-street, with its quaint edifices; the Calvary,* and the romantic promenade in the centre of the town.

‘In the midst of the Danube there is a little island: whoever has seen it in former days may have an idea of paradise! On crossing the bridge which united it to the town, an alley of gigantic palm-pines extended from one end of the island to the other, through which the rays of the sun gleamed like a golden network. The island was beautifully laid out in gardens, which furnished the town with fruit. In summer the gay population held many a *fête* here.

‘Then in winter, when the cold confined the inhabitants to the town, what merriment and cheerfulness were to be seen everywhere. The young men of the district assembled for the Christmas tree and the carnival festivities. Every mansion was open, and its hospitable landlord ready to receive alike rich and poor.

‘On Sundays and holidays, as soon as the early bells began to toll, a serious and well-conditioned population were seen crowding to the churches—the women in silken dresses, the men in rich pelisses fastened with heavy golden clasps; and when an offering was wanting, none were found remiss. At one oration by a popular preacher the magnates deposited their jewelled clasps, buttons, and gold chains, in heaps at the threshold of the church; and with this gift the vast school was built which stood opposite the Reformed Church.

‘All this *was*—and is no more! Two-thirds of the edifices have been reduced to ashes; three churches—among them the double-towered one with the fine frescoes—the Town-hall, the County-house, the Hospital, the High-street, the Danube-row, and the entire square, with more than a thousand houses, have been burnt to the ground. What remained was battered to pieces by the balls, and destroyed by the inundation and the ice in the following spring.

‘The beautiful island was laid waste, the trees cut down, and the bridge destroyed! Where are the joyous scenes of the past, the pleasant intercourse, and the gay society? The carnival music and the holiday bells are mute; the streets are empty, the houses roofless, and the people wretched!’—pp. 151, 152.

‘LUNATICS IN HUNGARY.

‘There are as yet no institutions in our country for those unhappy beings in whose minds “the image and likeness” to their Divine original has been destroyed. Hence every town and village in Hungary has its lunatic or idiot, familiar to everybody, from the child to the old man, who often remembers him from *his* childhood—for such unhappy persons generally live a long time.

‘They are looked upon as public orphans by the people, and allowed to wander about as their innocent inclinations may suggest, seeking

* In most Roman-catholic towns abroad, there is what is called a Calvary-hill, with its fourteen ‘stations of our Lord,’ and the crucifixion and chapel crowning the hill, whither the devout make little pilgrimages, and where they perform their devotions.

wild flowers in the lonely woods, singing through the streets, lying abroad in the sun, or roaming by moonlight; and none wish to deprive them of the blessed free air, to check their strange gibberish, or their love for the pathless woods and the mysterious moon. They are sure to find good souls who feed them when they are hungry and clothe them when they are in want, or give them shelter at the close of day, to continue their ceaseless pilgrimage next morning. And when the power of darkness comes, and they run through the streets, or shout up at the windows, they are merely greeted with "jó bolond" (good fool), or some such familiar expression; but none try to silence or confine them, for it is known that silence and confinement are torment to a fatuous person.'—p. 133.

'Athens and the Peloponnese' has reached us just as we are going to press, and we lose no time in introducing it to our readers. It is a totally different work from the preceding, but has great merits of its own, which will strongly recommend it to a large class. The author is richly imbued with the spirit of the land he visited, and his sketches of its present state and past fortunes will be read with deep interest. The publishers are wise in varying the character of their volumes, and we augur well for the series, on account of the good taste and sound judgment which are evinced in selecting the works of which it is to consist.

ART. IV.—*The Pentateuch and its Assailants: a Refutation of the Objections of Modern Scepticism to the Pentateuch.* By W. T. Hamilton, D.D., of Mobile, Alabama, America. 8vo. pp. 388. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co.

THE first metaphysical authority in Europe is stated to have affirmed that the Deity is the most maligned being in the universe. The saying is equally true of His book; for considering the flippancy, audacity, and assumption with which modern infidelity prosecutes its assaults upon the Bible, there is ample ground for affirming, that this, which is unquestionably the best, the most useful, and the most read book, is also the most maligned. And what renders the case the more remarkable, as well as the more discreditable to its enemies, is, that they themselves are under deeper moral and intellectual obligations to the Bible than to any other book in the world.

It would be a curious and not uninteresting inquiry for some of our infidel progressionists to institute—whence came the light which has enabled them to escape out of the prison-house of ancient heathenism, and placed them in the centre of so much wider a circle than any of the sages of antiquity? What would our

learned infidels themselves have been, and whereabouts in the scale of intellectual progress would they have stood if such a book as the Bible had never existed, or never exerted an influence upon their mental and moral training? For, without attributing to them any very great eminence in these respects, we will take upon us to affirm, that but for the Bible, they had never escaped from the shackles of superstition, nor gained that mental liberty and strength they now employ against their greatest moral and intellectual benefactors. It may be convenient to these parties to ignore their obligations altogether, and fancy that they have emancipated themselves, and risen by dint of their own unaided efforts to the pinnacle of light on which they think they stand. But they would find it rather difficult to show how, at this age of the world, they are so much more enlightened than the Hindoos, so greatly in advance of the Chinese, and so much nearer the standard of human perfection than the New Hollander or the Hottentot, if it be not the Bible that has originated the difference. It would be worth while for those assailants of the Bible who wish to persuade the world that it is a mere bundle of untruths and fabrications, which it would be better to forget or destroy, to employ their learning and acuteness in determining how little or how much that portion of the world we call Christendom, as contrasted with heathendom, owes to the Old and New Testament, in point of intellectual vigour, moral cultivation, social happiness, scientific progress, individual independence and happiness, and, indeed, nearly everything else that ennobles human nature, and either heightens its joys or mitigates its sufferings. This would be a much more appropriate and profitable occupation for them than constantly labouring to persuade the world how much better it would have been if neither Moses nor Jesus Christ had ever lived.

If a person unacquainted with the infidel controversy for the last hundred years or more were to judge of it only by some recent exhibitions, he might conclude that discoveries of the utmost importance had been made by the modern enemies of the Bible, and that, by their profound researches and practised dialectics, they had reduced it to the position of the clumsiest and most odious piece of imposture ever set up in the world. Should he implicitly believe the statements made by these enemies of the Book, he would conclude that, after having deceived the greater part of the learned and unlearned of the civilized world for so many centuries, it had been reserved for the free spirits and deep thinkers of the present age—*par excellence*, 'the Age of Progress'—to unmask the imposture, and explode the veteran untruth of this deep plot against the advancement and happiness of the human race.

But, after all the assumption and unfairness, all the pretension and arrogant dogmatism, of the infidel party, we cannot compliment them with showing any brilliant progress. Their arguments are for the most part stale, and have been frequently and sufficiently refuted. Infidels write, however, as if their objections were quite new, and had never been answered, or never could be. One thing especially deserves remark in the modern controversy. It is the supercilious, facile, touch-and-go style in which the most solemn and momentous questions are despatched. A mere hypothesis neutralizes important facts; a sneer annihilates Judaism; and a law of our modern philosophy consigns Moses, with all his learning and all his miracles, to the limbo of all the vanities. You have only to observe how Mormonism came into existence, and has led away its thousands of votaries, and you will clearly understand how Jesus Christ introduced his religion, and gained so many followers. In fact, the modern instance illustrates to the full satisfaction of these sages of infidelity the origination of all religions, and convinces them that they are all equally the work either of fanatics or impostors. So they wrap it up, and profess to be at ease in their conclusions, and pleased with the feats of their philosophy.

Happily the friends of the Bible and of humanity are not easily frightened by the formidable array of hard words, and bold assertions. They view the controversy as involving all that is most dear to their nature and cheering in its future prospects. They have, therefore, accustomed themselves to look all the objections to the Bible *full in the face*, and to scrutinize them much more thoughtfully and thoroughly than those suspect who employ them either to display their originality, to vaunt their free thinking, or to extenuate their libertinism. Hence a mere difficulty does not shake the faith of Christians. Mysteries they rather welcome as not at all alien to a divine revelation, and miracles they decidedly hail as the most direct, convenient, and appropriate mode of proving it to be divine, while they smile with indifference at the Sisyphean efforts undertaken so often to prove them impossible, but as often recoiling with crushing effect upon the presumptuous undertakers.

That a book consisting of so many distinct parts as the Bible, written by so many different authors, at such great intervals of time, under such a variety of circumstances, and embracing such a multitude of subjects, with such merely passing, or fragmentary, or incidental information upon all but its main theme, should supply occasion for captious questions, or even for perplexing difficulties, is not at all surprising; nor yet that minds, previously inclined to doubt, and unaccustomed to weigh moral evidence, more influenced by objects of sense than by those of consciousness, reason, or faith, should catch at all such difficulties, and push

them far beyond all bounds of fairness and candour, for the sake of making good their own position, and screening themselves from the solemn responsibilities involved in the admission that the Bible is a really divine revelation.

Almost every distinct age has had its peculiar forms of scepticism, and its special objections on particular subjects. As these have been answered, fresh ones have been sought for, and often, without taking the slightest notice of such answers, the old ones have been brought forward again, and are still handed down from age to age, combined with whatever novel difficulties can be discovered by the aid of science, history, and antiquities, or by the dishonest perversion of them. Nothing, however, is heard in the progress of the controversy of that not inconsiderable number of objectors, who, upon more deliberate examination, and wider research, have renounced their opposition, and fallen into the ranks of believers. We have no means of forming even a tolerable guess, but certainly the number is considerable. Young men of science, and especially youthful cultivators of polite literature, are often seduced by the plausible objections of infidelity to renounce the Bible, or to doubt of its inspiration; but if they be really lovers of truth, and admirers of social and moral virtue, they generally reconsider their early opinions, and discover that there is vastly more to be said for the Bible than against it; and hence very many who started as infidels or doubters settle down about middle life into firm believers that the Bible is of God. The majority of those who fall into infidelity do so in total ignorance of the Christian evidence, through a want of balance among their mental faculties, or through the fascination of some favourite book or companion. Hence the importance of fresh apologies and defences of the Bible, adapted to the speculations and sceptical objections of the age. Science as it advances may suggest new doubts and difficulties which the believer must be prepared to meet, and, if possible, make that very science remove. Infidelity itself cannot deny that hitherto the progress of philosophy, of philology, of archæology, and of every other branch of human knowledge, has proved favourable to the cause of the Bible. The modern objections, so far as they are new, and dependent upon the advanced state of science, either have been answered, or are in a fair way of being so, by the modern defenders of the Bible. And even where the difficulties suggested by science can neither be fully removed nor fully substantiated, being rather strong presumptions than ascertained facts, their force is neutralized first by the impossibility of making them conclusive, and next by the admissibility of some fair and reasonable supposition which would supersede them. This, though it may be alleged, is only a theoretic solution, yet, if it cannot

be disproved, may be the true solution, and must have the effect of check-mating the difficulty, which henceforth awaits positive elucidation either to remove or confirm it.

Many admirable volumes have been published within the last twenty years, working up the controversy to the present times. These the infidel press sometimes professes to review, or even to answer in a few paragraphs or pages. But it is evident that the writers either evade the argument, or misrepresent it; for grapple with it manfully and fairly they never do. But to us, the most sorrowful and strangest thing of all is, that any *man* should *à priori* wish to prove the Bible false. Surely the saddest page of human history is that which records man's own attempts to deprive himself of the highest hopes and richest honours of his intellectuality, by renouncing or denying all intercourse with the Supreme Intelligence, and all communication from him. It can surely never be to his interest, to his happiness, or to his honour, to abjure the fact of a divine revelation; and although this ought not to make him incautious or rash in admitting the claim without reasonable evidence, it ought at any rate to awaken him to the fearful consequences of lightly, captiously, unfairly, and even immorally rejecting evidences which, in any other case, he would deem sufficient to produce conviction.

But it is time to introduce Dr Hamilton's volume to the notice of our readers. Infidelity, it seems, is quite as busy in America as in Europe, and is especially active in retailing the German speculations and theories, which follow in rapid succession, though only to chase and devour each other.

A concise but comprehensive introduction gives a view of the German Neologic Mode of Interpretation, and of the modern attempts to class Moses with the mythologists, and so to invalidate his testimony. Our author, after referring to the old assailants, proceeds thus:—

‘But within the last thirty or forty years fresh attacks have been made on various grounds, chiefly scientific.

‘Astronomy, geology, physiology, and ethnology, have all been arrayed against the teaching of the Bible, and especially against the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Jewish Scriptures, and which are generally ascribed to Moses as their author. The historical records of several oriental nations, and especially the records still found among the monuments of Egypt, whose numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions we can now decipher, have been ostentatiously paraded in opposition to the books of Moses; and men of note in the learned world have not been wanting who maintained that their records, together with certain astronomical tables found in the East, prove conclusively that the chronology of the Pentateuch is completely worthless, its historic statements are entitled to no credit, and that the book of Genesis, especially, is nothing more than a collection of

old traditionary tales, and mythical representations, of no historical value whatever. . . .

'The Bible has successfully sustained too many assaults, from almost every quarter, and from opponents furnished with every degree of talent, and every variety of learning, for its friends to feel any solicitude as to the final issue now. Troops of assailants in the last century, including every grade of intellectual qualifications, from Paine, Volney, Voltaire, to Hobbes, Bolingbroke, Hume, Gibbon, and a host of continental writers, tried the temper of their weapons against the citadel of revealed truth, and a host of defenders, as Campbell, Erskine, West, Butler, Paley, &c., arose to show how strong are the bulwarks, how impregnable the defences of that glorious citadel.

'The grounds of assault are now changed, and critical ingenuity questions the genuineness of the sacred books, and scientific discovery is arrayed in opposition to the Bible-recorded facts, and archæological research is assumed to furnish proof conclusive, that the early history of the Bible is radically defective. The coarse abuse of Paine is rejected; the sneering insinuations of Gibbon are silenced; the subtle sophistry of Hume is abandoned; but we are told of the facts of geology, of the wonderful revealments in the heavenly expanse, of the demonstrated verities of physiological science and of anatomical investigation,—we are told of the authenticated records of India and of China, running back many ages beyond any probable date of Noah's flood,—and we are told of the certain results of the discoveries of Lepsius in Egypt, as all uniting their evidence to confute Moses, and to throw utter discredit on the historic portion of the Pentateuch. . . .

'“Most absurdly premature it is” (says a judicious writer in the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ for Oct. 1849, p. 182) “to raise a pæan over the fall of Christianity, or of any one of its essential doctrines, upon every new attack upon it, when it has already withstood so many from the time of Julian to Bolingbroke, and from Bolingbroke to Strauss.”

'The only question fairly at issue must ever be—whether the general evidence for the Bible will overbear the difficulties which we cannot separate from its truths—*if it will not, we must reject it wholly; if it will, we must receive it wholly*: there is plainly no middle ground between absolute “infidelity and absolute belief.” — Introduction, pp. 15, 18.

How many difficulties, at one time deemed formidable, have been removed by enlarging knowledge! showing how rash and unreasonable it is to conclude against the Bible because something in it is to us inexplicable or mysterious. If we knew all, there would appear no difficulty; but seeing we cannot acquire the entire amount of knowledge requisite to explain all such difficulties, we must just weigh them against the positive proofs, and either receive or reject the whole as that evidence preponderates. It often happens that the most formidable difficulties, when thoroughly sifted and elucidated, supply the most cogent and satisfactory, because complicated and intricate, proofs, which no cunning could have contrived, and no calculations anticipated.

One such instance of divine foreknowledge and previous arrangement ought to set aside a whole host of merely apparent difficulties. Dr. Hamilton has well put this view in a passage which we should be glad to extract, if our space permitted.

The author next exhibits the course of German Neological interpretation from Eichorn down to Strauss, in whom the rationalizing system, as it has been called, finds its climax, and may be said also to have provided or provoked its antidote—for it then became such barefaced infidelity, that men could no longer tolerate it under the name of Christian theology. It is surely unreasonable to call the Bible a revelation in any sense, and yet treat it as these learned Germans did. If such treatment is just, and is called for, and can be sustained, then the authority of the Bible is gone; and there is no resting-place short of absolute disbelief; but if it is in any intelligible sense a divine revelation, then such interpretations are uncalled for and even impious. The mythical theory has been abundantly shown to be incompatible with the facts of the case. The writers must either be accepted upon the full claim of inspiration, or they must be rejected as impostors. The theory which once led away and pleased so many, is fast sinking into oblivion, while Moses and the prophets, as well as Jesus and the apostles, still command the respect and enjoy the confidence of Christians.

The speculations of the German neologists, however, have proved quite an armoury to the infidel camp. Eichorn, Paulus, De Wette, and Strauss, have cheered their drooping spirits and rallied them for fresh onslaughts. Hence nearly every sceptical and infidel writer refers to them as reliable authorities to invalidate the testimony of the Bible, without knowing, or seeming to know, how ably these rationalists have been answered by their own countrymen. The positive infidel exaggerates the Biblical difficulties into insurmountable obstacles to faith, and insists that they are sufficient to destroy all the direct evidences of inspiration which can be alleged. Now, it is the object of Dr. Hamilton's work not so much to state the positive side of the argument as to abate the force of the difficulties in general, but particularly those of a historical, physiological, geological, and ethnological character. The design of the work is excellent, and all the subjects embraced in it of high importance to the Christian evidences. The first five lectures are occupied with very interesting discussions respecting Moses and the Pentateuch; and in the sixth he enters upon the particular scientific difficulties connected with the Mosaic account of the Creation. Was the universe created in six days? If it is affirmed, in what sense is it true? After an examination of the opinion which makes the six days long periods, the author proceeds to give his own solution in the following passage:—

‘What, then, is the meaning of the narrative given in the 1st chap. of Genesis, and of the declaration, Ex. xx. 11, “*In six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that therein are.*”

‘This declaration, embodied in the fourth commandment, I take to be an epitome of the entire narrative given in Genesis, chap. i., from verse 3 to the close of the chapter. Genesis, 1st chap. and verse 1, informs us, that at some undefined period in the boundless past, occurred the original production of the material universe, by the power of God. With the third verse of that chapter seems to commence a narrative of the *manner* in which, after the last geologic convulsion, which left this globe in a state of wild and dark chaos, as described in verse 2, *without form and void*, the earth was gradually arranged, illumined, made fertile, and peopled with living tenants, and with man also, in a series of divine creative acts, running through six successive natural days of ordinary length.

‘The 1st chapter of Genesis, from verse 3 to the end of the chapter, does then present us with a history of the re-ordering of our planetary system, more especially of this earth, after the last great geologic catastrophe prior to man’s creation.

‘That catastrophe, as this narrative leads us to conclude, was a general one, and left the whole earth in what may be called a *chaotic state*, the land and water being commingled; and the very atmosphere seems to have been so far affected by the general disturbance, as that it was not capable of transmitting the light of the sun and heavenly bodies until the fourth day.

‘During the continuance of that chaotic state, the latest deposit of geologic strata known to us, and prior to the alluvium now in process of formation, may not improbably have been made; and then in the course of six successive days of the ordinary length, God saw fit to arrange this earth, clothe it with vegetation, people it with living creatures, and, finally, on the sixth day, place man upon it; after the appearance of the sun and moon to rule the day and the night respectively had taken place on the fourth day—the atmosphere having by that time been divinely prepared duly to transmit the light as now. . . .

‘In this sense, and not as directly referring to the *original* production of the substance of the earth, and of the system to which this earth belongs, do I understand the declaration contained in the fourth commandment. That *original* production is recorded in the first verse of Genesis.’—pp. 159, 160.

These views are vindicated by references to eminent critics and scholars as to the Hebrew words used in the different places. The precise date of man’s creation he considers doubtful, on account of the chronological variation in the different authorities. There being no date given by Moses, this is not a question of essential importance. Whether Adam was created, as Usher thinks, 4004 years before the advent of the Saviour, or 5878, as some of the Septuagint copies make out, is a matter so evidently depending upon the accuracy of copyists, and in itself so trivial,

that it may well be left undetermined. Dr. Hamilton revives the controversy respecting the universality of Noah's deluge, and even makes it a very material part of his argument, though most of the geological authorities are decidedly against him. We cannot follow him into this discussion. Those readers who wish to know what can be said in defence of this opinion will find it ingeniously and learnedly sustained in this volume. We cannot say, however, that we are convinced of its truth.

In the last Lecture the author enters upon the question of races, and maintains that mankind were originally one family. The physical diversities, he seems to admit, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the causes which have been alleged. But without entering minutely into the physiology of the subject, he attempts to remove all the difficulties by explaining the divine intervention at the confusion of languages, as intending the universal dispersion of man through the globe, and, therefore, as necessitating the adaptation of his physical constitution to the different climates and habitats to which he was to be sent. Hence he conceives that the miracle of the confusion of tongues was accompanied with such other miraculous changes as might be required by the dispersion, and that out of these changes have sprung all the present diversities observable in the human family. This is at any rate a plausible supposition, and may be considered probable enough to set aside the objections recently raised against the unity of the human race.

Many other subjects are discussed in the present volume,—such as the longevity of the antediluvians; the populousness of the earth in the days of Cain; the giants of the patriarchal age; death among the works of God, &c. The development theory of Lamarck and the Nebular hypothesis, both of which made a great noise in their day, are noticed at some length, and shown to be utterly destitute of foundation. The best authorities are referred to upon all questions of science, and a vast mass of information collected from the various writers who have treated upon the questions under consideration. Good use is made of the modern discoveries among the Egyptian antiquities, but the learned author does not seem to be equally well acquainted with the Assyrian. There is doubtless yet much light to be thrown upon biblical subjects from both these sources.

The volume is deserving of commendation, and will repay an attentive perusal. The composition is not of the first order. It is susceptible of great improvement, both in point of perspicuity and conciseness. The whole would be greatly improved by condensation. We should be glad to find that the success of the work had afforded the author an opportunity of careful revision.

ART. V.—*Histoire de la Littérature Française au Dix-huitième Siècle.* Par A. Vinet. Paris : chez les Editeurs. 1853.

2. *History of French Literature in the Eighteenth Century.* By Alexandre Vinet. Translated from the French by the Rev. James Bryce. Svo. pp. 484. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark.

M. VINET had formed the project, the publishers of this book tell us, of writing a complete history of French literature. Among the materials which he had collected for it, their attention was particularly attracted towards his studies upon the eighteenth century, partly on account of the importance of the epoch to our own age, but chiefly, they say, from the independent, impartial, and equitable way in which he had examined it. Great as may be the merits of the works of Villemain and Barante, their points of view, their objects, and their standards, differ from those of M. Vinet. After a careful study of the two French volumes before us, we have, we confess, clearer perceptions of a trade compilation and speculation by the publishers, than of merits, views, objects, or standards, of independence, impartiality, or equity, original and peculiar to the author whose name figures upon the title-page.

Justice requires that the reader should bear in mind how this book has been got up by the publishers. M. Vinet wrote, in 1831, a fragment upon 'The Statistics of Moral Ideas;' in 1833, the work of M. E. Lerminier suggested to him 'Reflections upon the Influence of the Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century,' and he gave a course of lectures at Basle upon the 'French Moralists' of the same period; and the fragment, the Reflections, with the first and the conclusion of the last of these lectures, are reprinted in these volumes. When delivering a course of lectures upon the 'Eighteenth Century' at Lausanne, during the summer of 1846, and in the midst of those on Jean-Jacques Rousseau, M. Vinet was stopped by an aggravation of the malady of which he died a few months afterwards. His notes for this course consisted of marks of trains of thought, of summaries, choice phrases, references, with only a few passages almost completely written out. The fragments of the Lectures, the Essays, and Notes of the professor, having been deemed insufficient, have been compared and incorporated with the notes found in the note-books of four students. The volumes before us are then a collection of notes, fragments, and recollections, and not a complete work; a compilation of raw materials, and not a finished production; or, if we may be allowed to pass from metaphors derived from political economy to those derived from mineralogy, a conglom-

rate, and not a crystal. Such a publication is not a fit subject for analysis or criticism. Where would be the fairness of taking to pieces what has never been presented before us as a finished work?—or of combating the opinions of an author who is not responsible for their publication?—or of subjecting to review a crude heap of his written and spoken remains, which has been swept together over his grave? In such a case, the best thing to be done is merely to pick out what seems most worthy of observation.

One general remark, on the French fashion of discussing the characters, and writing the histories of what are called centuries or epochs. The French writers and their imitators are always saying, for example, that the seventeenth century was *this*, the eighteenth century *that*, and the nineteenth is the *other* thing. This practice, under a false appearance of large historical and philosophical views, leads to opinions which are superficial, delusive, and false. It is a way of grouping the subject of study, which prevents a close and clear inspection of the facts. Literature is the expression of the thoughts of society. Books are specimens of the conversations of an age preserved in the spirit of taste and of genius. Just as the great elements of society remain the same, and the component parts of modern civilization are peculiar to all its ages, the historical characteristics of a literature are not to be found by studying epochs, centuries, or chronologies. The influences of different ancient civilizations and races, of great thinkers, great artists, and great circumstances, upon the great streams of time, can alone exhibit the sources and nature of the historical characteristics of a literature. M. Guizot has been in the habit of considering history, politics, and literature, under the aspect of a conflict between philosophy and religion. Although much more profound and true than the mode of Messieurs Villemain and Vinet, this, after all, is little better than if a man should fancy he had got at the secret of the confusion of a battle-field, when he had made out, with the help of his spy-glass, two different mottoes upon the flags of two contending parties. Analysis must go much deeper, and observation much closer, to obtain clear views.

A few examples will suffice to show the absurdities (there is no more gentle word for them) into which this method plunges its followers. M. Vinet says at page 25 of his Introduction, 'Saint-Evremond, who died almost a centenarian in 1709, bore the exclusive stamp of the eighteenth century!' Voltaire published a Dictionary, to which he gave the title of philosophical:—'Every scribbler on paper called himself a philosopher;' and M. Vinet enumerates the pretension, fashion, or affectation, as a characteristic of the age, and as if the century in which it was fashionable to read Voltaire was more philosophical than the seventeenth century, in which ladies studied Descartes. He

limits the signification of the word literary in a most arbitrary manner, to suit his way of handling his subject, and says boldly at page 23, 'but the revolution was not a literary epoch!' Moreover, finding himself embarrassed in cutting up his eighteenth century into two periods, by the circumstance that Voltaire belonged to both of them, he says that the Voltaire of the one and of the other period are two men. M. Vinet chooses Bossuet as his representative of the seventeenth, and Voltaire as his representative of the eighteenth century. The only ground upon which Voltaire can be elected into such a place is the quantity of noise which he made about himself. The pages of M. Vinet would suffice, were there no others, to show how fallacious it is to describe Voltaire as the representative of the age of Louis Racine and the Duc de Saint-Simon, of Rollin and Montesquieu. According to a method which is vicious to such a degree, as is the one adopted by a variety of French writers, including M. Vinet, an infinitude of declamations might be written and admired, about the history of French literature, without a single human head being a whit the wiser.

M. Vinet selects twenty-eight authors to exhibit the French literature of the eighteenth century, from which he excludes all the revolutionary writers as not literary. We copy the names of the writers, with the years of their births and deaths, for the sake of certain inductions they have suggested:—D'Aguesseau (1668—1751); Cochin (1687—1747); Saint-Simon (1675—1755); Rollin (1661—1741); Louis Racine (1692—1763); Crebillon (1674—1762); Le Sage (1668—1751); Destouches (1680—1754); l'Abbé Prevost (1697—1773); la Marquise de Lambert (1647—1733); Mademoiselle de Launay (1693—1757); Fontenelle (1647—1747); Houdard de la Motte (1672—1742); Marivaux (1688—1762); La Chaussée (1692—1754); le President Henault (1685—1770); Vauvenargues (1715—1747); Montesquieu (1689—1755); Voltaire (1694—1778); D'Alembert (1717—1783); Diderot (1713—1784); Helvetius (1715—1771); Raynal (1713—1796); D'Holbach (1723—1789), and Grimm (1723—1809); Buffon (1707—1788); Duclos (1704—1772); J. J. Rousseau (1711—1778). The average ages of these authors we have found, by a simple calculation, amounted to more than three score and ten years, the period allotted to strong men, in the Scriptures, as generally understood, and more than double the average length of life in France, as estimated from statistical tables. Long life is regarded by physiological science and Holy Writ in the same light, as a sign of good habits. Great irregularities of life, violent and vicious courses, intemperance of all kinds, sudden vicissitudes of fortune, and severe privations, are incompatible with lives doubling the average length, and could have but little part in the biographies of nearly thirty persons

who have been chosen and grouped to represent the literary excellence of a century. These authors and authoresses must, upon the whole, have been quiet, regular, sober, and orderly people. Undoubtedly, scientific and literary pursuits prolong life; they take us out of our griefs and ailments into a world of enjoyments, novelties, and beauties. Remorse and excess, grief and want, may be inferred of groups of persons whose lives were short. When we have said of thirty persons that their average lives exceeded seventy years each, we have stated in other words that they were men and women of wholesome bodies and tranquil minds. The shortest of their lives was that of Vauvenargues, who died at the age of thirty-two; but he was a soldier from his boyhood, who did not write or study until he was ruined in purse and person, and afflicted with pecuniary embarrassments, with the small-pox, and finally with complete blindness. The most purely literary and scientific biography of them all is that of Fontenelle, who, giving his youth to letters, and his manhood to sciences, and writing from the age of fourteen to the age of ninety-five, spread his healthy and happy existence over a full century.

The great literary fact of the seventeenth century was the Court of Louis XIV. The French literature of the time is the expression of the spirit, the ideas, the feelings, the morals, the sentiments and character of the men and women, who assembled around the royal conqueror of Versailles and his mistresses. Its motto might be the line of Boileau:—

‘Grand Roi, cesse de vaincre, ou je cesse d’écrire.’

An important feature of the eighteenth century was the society which surrounded the supper tables of the Baron d’Holbach at Paris. Saint-Evremond and Linière, who was called the Atheist of Senlis (l’Athée de Senlis)—the society which surrounded the notorious Ninon de l’Enclos—did not bear the impress of the eighteenth century in the seventeenth, and were not produced by their own successors. Saint-Evremond is as truly of the seventeenth century as Bossuet, and Ninon de l’Enclos as Madame de Maintenon. M. Vinet himself says, that the great characteristic of the infidelity of the seventeenth century was atheism. Another characteristic which applies to the orators of the church, and to the poets and writers of the court, M. Vinet finds himself forced to state incidentally, and it is hypocrisy (*ce siècle, qu’on ne peut s’empêcher de qualifier d’hypocrite*), ‘this century, which we cannot prevent ourselves from calling *hypocritical*.’ If the infidel creed of the seventeenth century was atheism, the most characteristic creed of the eighteenth was deism. The writers of the court of Versailles combined an observance of the cere-

monies with a contempt of the precepts and an oblivion of the doctrines of Christianity. They were the voices of a society at once atheistical, criminal, persecuting, and hypocritical. Its religion was ambition. The writers of the Holbach *coterie* were the voices of a society which was deistical, speculative, talkative, tolerant, irregular, but progressive and humane. The infidelity of the seventeenth century in France included humanity and morality. Were we to avail ourselves of the fiction of apostolic succession to describe the difference between the Holbach and the Bourbon literatures, we should say that the teachers of the eighteenth century were the successors of Thomas, and the teachers of the seventeenth the successors of Judas.

From the direction of his mind in the progress of his studies, M. Vinet would, it is probable, have reached, if he had been spared, conclusions identical with our own. His publishers tell us that 'the nineteenth century, by showing more clearly the character of its predecessor, had in some degree raised it in the esteem of M. Vinet. He recognised in this last a certain faith in its ideas which placed it above the selfish indifference of our age. The eighteenth century had a morality, although an insufficient and deteriorated one, which seemed to the author preferable to the systematic pretension to do without one.'

A few illustrations are necessary to show the hypocrisy of the society and literature of the court of Louis XIV. Boileau the poet, critic, and satirist, celebrates President de Lamoignon in the following terms:—

'C'est à toi, Lamoignon, que le rang, la naissance,
Le mérite éclatant et la haute éloquence
Appellent dans Paris aux sublimes emplois,
Qu'il sied bien d'y veiller pour le maintien des lois.
Tu dois la tous tes soins au bien de ta patrie.
Tu ne t'en peux bannir que l'orphelin ne crie,
Que l'oppresser ne montre un front audacieux;
Et Thémis pour voir clair a besoin de tes yeux.'

(Translation.) — It is thee, Lamoignon, whom rank, birth, brilliant merit, and high eloquence, call into Paris to sublime employments, and whom it well becomes to watch over the maintenance of the laws. Thou owest there all thy cares to the good of the country. Thou canst not banish thyself thence but the orphan begins to weep, the oppressor shows an audacious front, and the goddess of Justice, to see clearly, has need of thy eyes.

We abridge the following narrative from the 'Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon.' One night in autumn the flower of the court, including the favourites of the king, were riding about between ten and eleven o'clock far from Saint Germain, weary,

worn, and lost. They had been misled during the chase. At last they discovered a mansion, the proprietor of which entertained them with a courteous and elegant hospitality which surprised and charmed them. When partaking next morning of a splendid breakfast, they learnt that the name of their accomplished host was Fargues, and that he had lived there many years in the greatest retirement and tranquillity. After returning to the court upon their horses, which had been as well cared for as themselves, they recounted their adventure to the king, praising exceedingly their entertainer, his manners, his hospitality, and his habitation. 'Fargues—is he so near this?' asked the king, and said no more, but mentioned the circumstance to the queen mother, and sent for the First President, Lamoignon.

'Et Thémis pour voir clair a besoin de tes yeux.'

Fargues had been concerned in the revolt of Paris against Cardinal Mazarin; but the cardinal was dead, the revolt forgotten, and Fargues had been expressly included in the amnesty. The king and the queen mother charged Lamoignon to rake up secretly the past life of Fargues, and find the means of making him suffer for his past insolence in opposing the cardinal, and his present scorn in living in the vicinity of the court. Lamoignon called into Paris, *aux sublimes emplois*, soon fudged up a charge of homicide for an affair which happened during the thick of the troubles, and which was included in the amnesty. Fargues was, of course, imprisoned in the Conciergerie, tried hurriedly, condemned illegally, and forthwith beheaded. His property was the reward of Lamoignon. Most probably the retreat of Fargues was one of those pleasant places to which Boileau proposed to retire with the President.

'Lamoignon, nous irons, libres d'inquiétude,
Discourir des vertus dont tu fais ton étude.'

(Translation.)—We shall go, and free from inquietude, discourse, Lamoignon, upon the virtues which you study.

Madame de Sévigné has preserved an account of a conversation which took place at the dinner-table of M. de Lamoignon somewhere about the beginning of January, 1690. The actors were the Messieurs de Lamoignon, de Troyes, de Toulon, Father Bourdaloue, his companion, Despréaux, and Corbinelli. Corbinelli was the person who sent the account of it to Madame de Sévigné, and Despréaux is Boileau. They talked about the works of the ancients and moderns; Despréaux supported the ancients, with the exception of one single modern, who, according to his idea, surpassed the old and the new. The companion of Boileau, who acted as if he were a more capable person than the celebrated Jesuit orator, asked, 'what was this book which was

so distinguished in his mind ? Despréaux-Boileau would not say. The Jesuit, with a disdainful air, pressed him to name this marvellous author. Despréaux said to him,—‘ My father, do not press me.’ The father persisted, and at last Despréaux, squeezing his arm, said to him,—‘ My father, you will have it—It is Pascal.’ ‘ Pascal,’ said the father, quite red, and quite astonished—‘ Pascal is as beautiful as the false can be !’ ‘ The false !’ said Despréaux—‘ no, he is as true as he is inimitable : he has been translated into three languages !’ The father replied, ‘ He is not more true for that.’ Despréaux, heated, and screaming at the top of his voice, like a madman, cried, ‘ What, my father, will you say that one of you has not printed in one of his books that a Christian is not obliged to love God ? Dare you say that is false ?’ ‘ Sir,’ said the father, in a fury, ‘ you must distinguish !’ ‘ Distinguish !—distinguish ! Morbleu ! distinguish !—distinguish ! if we are obliged to love God !’—and taking Corbinelli by the arm, he fled to the other end of the room. On returning, running wildly, he would not approach the father, but withdrew into another apartment. Not merely did members of the Society of Jesus write to prove that God need not be loved, but the most celebrated bishops and preachers showed by their public conduct in the seventeenth century that God need not be obeyed. As for Despréaux-Boileau, it is probable, from the affair of Fargues, that if his morality had insisted upon a very literal translation of the love of God into the love of our neighbour, he would not have shared so often in the town or country hospitalities of Lamoignon.

Christianity is a religion. The eyebrows which are raised up at the perusal of such a truism will, we hope, be knit by the reflection that it is one of the most neglected of all truths. During the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., whoever dared to say it, to apply it, or to live according to it, if an eminent person, was thrown into the dungeons of the Bastile, or if a population of several thousands, were famished to death like the inhabitants of Rochelle. Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fléchier, Massaron, and Bossuet, were the pulpit orators of the time of Louis XIV. They professed to fulfil the duty of teaching the Christian religion ; and a religion, be it known, is a rule of life ; and they were responsible, therefore, for teaching the Christian rule of life. Let us look at them at their work. Madame de Sévigné gives us glimpses of the court at Versailles, whose magnificent *fêtes* rivalled the descriptions in the ‘ Arabian Nights.’ After reading her pages, and having seen the apartments at Versailles, we can fill them again with the personages who formed *la cour de France*. The mistresses of the king pass before our eyes. ‘ Madame de Montespan, all dressed in

French point lace, her hair fastened with a thousand buckles—in a word, a triumphant beauty, to excite the admiration of all the ambassadors. She is the envy of all the ladies. *La plus enviée.* Madame de Sévigné goes to the Convent of the Carmelites to congratulate the Duchess de la Vallière on the marriage of her daughter. ‘But what angel appeared to me at last! It had in my eyes all the charms which we have formerly seen. She has the same eyes and the same glances which the austerity, the bad food, and the short sleep, had neither hollowed nor worn. Her strange dress took nothing from her grace nor her air. As for her modesty, it is not greater than it was when she brought into the world a Princess de Conti; but it is enough for a Carmelite.’ We meet often in the letters the name of Madame de Ludres, ‘la belle chanoinesse,’ who became a victim, like poor Jo, to the wrath of Juno-Montespan. Another is Madame de Soubise, who is characterized as so prudently ambitious, and whose husband, when the king offered to make him a chevalier of the Order of the Holy Spirit (Ordre du Saint-Esprit) simply requested the registration of the offer, and of his refusal, ‘for family reasons.’ And another Madame de Fontanges, who is described as beautiful and stupid, and Madame de Maintenon, the shrewdest and most cunning of them all.

‘What! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?
 Another yet?—A seventh? I’ll see no more:—
 And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass,
 Which shows me many more ——’

The nobility have left on record the proofs of their own incredible baseness. Madame de Montespan was, we have seen, the most envied of women—*la plus enviée!* Madame de Sévigné mentions how great an honour it was deemed for a noble lady to be invited so sit beside Madame de Maintenon in public. ‘One day when the young ladies of Saint-Cyr recited the ‘Esther’ of Racine before the court, we found our places guarded. An officer said to Madame de Coutanges that Madame de Maintenon had kept a seat for her near herself. “You see what an honour!” (writes Madame de Sévigné to her daughter). “As for you, Madame,” he said to me, “you may choose,” and I placed myself with Madame de Bagnols upon the second bench behind the duchesses.’ On this occasion, she was honoured with a few words of conversation with the king, and was not in a flutter, and talked much with M. le prince and M. de Meaux (Bossuet). The noblemen of France who had beautiful daughters or wives exposed them to royalty in the hope of obtaining places, promotions, decorations, grades, or titles. The ‘Amphitryon’ of Molière seems to have been written with no other object than to teach the doctrine that—

‘Un partage avec Jupiter
N’a rien du tout qui déshonore ;
Et sans doute, il ne peut être que glorieux
De se voir le rival du souverain des dieux.’

The comedy concludes with the advice—

‘Sur telles affaires toujours
Le meilleur est de ne rien dire.’

The criminal celibacy of the popish clergy bore its natural results in this state of immorality. The expectation of gathering wholesome fruits from poisonous plants is not more vain than the expectation of faithful instruction in the duties of Christian husbands, and fathers, and men, from beings who having fore-sworn the functions of manhood, cannot honourably be either husbands or fathers. The clergy were the keepers of the consciences of the nobility. They were the confessors of the ladies. The responsibility of the teachers of Christian morality lay upon them. But they trampled the Bible out of sight ; they muffled the voice of the Gospel ; and allowed the thunders of Sinai to be heard only through the sounding brass of their own eloquence.

The poisonings of La Voisin and la Marquise de Brinvilliers are clearly seen, from what was exposed, and from what was suppressed, to have been manifestations of the vast depravity of the courtiers and nobility of the time. This marchioness assassinated her father, by eight empoisonments, and her two brothers, and attempted the life of her sister. Yet she was executed with singular lenity, and her confessor, M. Pirot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was chosen by President de Lamoignon, declared her to be a saint.

Molière once wrote as follows :—‘I have nothing better to do than to attack by ridiculous pictures the vices of my age, of which, without doubt, hypocrisy is the most in vogue, the most inconvenient, and the most dangerous.’ The history of the reception of his ‘Tartufe’ is instructive. Eight days after it was prohibited, a play called ‘Scaramouche Hermite’ was performed before the court. ‘I would like to know,’ asked the king, ‘why those who are so scandalized at the comedy of Molière say nothing of that of ‘Scaramouche’? A prince replied, ‘The comedy of ‘Scaramouche’ plays Heaven and religion, for which these gentlemen don’t care ; but that of Molière plays themselves, which they can’t bear.’ If Bossuet is to be accepted as the representative of the literature of the court of Versailles, he must also be considered as the original of Tartufe. Voltaire may in some sense be accepted as the representative of the hostility to Tartufeism, which was transmitted to him from

Molière, and from the *coterie* of Ninon de l'Enclos to that of the Barons d'Holbach and Grimm. If the conduct of the prelates and preachers of the courts of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. was, by an atrocious hypocrisy, identified with Christianity, it is according to the ways of Providence that writers should have arisen who devoted themselves to crush the infamy (*d'écraser l'infâme*).

Persons having more repugnance for incredulity than hypocrisy, and who have been deceived into the belief that there was more incredulity in Paris in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century, regard with less disapprobation Bossuet and Bourdaloue than Voltaire and Rousseau. However, taken absolutely, it is erroneous to say that hypocrisy is a homage which vice pays to virtue, and the prevalence of the semblance a sign of the prevalence of the reality. The respect which the crowned Tartufe of Versailles professed for the papacy, and his wars, persecutions, and cruelties against the Protestant religion, really rendered homage to nothing but his interests as a despot and his ambition as a conqueror. It was thus with them all:—

‘Ces gens, dis-je, qu'on voit, d'une ardeur non commune,
Par le chemin du ciel courir à leur fortune.’

(Translation.)—‘These fellows, I say, that we see, with uncommon ardour, by the road to heaven, rushing to their fortunes.’

Of all the forms of infidelity, hypocrisy is the form the most infidel, because the hypocrite lies both to heaven and earth, and his life is crime in perfidy and atheism in action.

Voltaire and Rousseau have attracted, especially in Great Britain, an attention so exclusive, that for many persons not otherwise ill-informed, they are the sole French writers of the eighteenth century. They owe this notoriety less to their qualities as writers than to their characters as men, for the one made himself most talked about by his quarrels, and the other by his ‘Confessions.’ Rousseau was tossed in his mind between deism and christianism, and represents what was really a feature of his time, the transition from hypocrisy to straightforwardness. He disdains the mask, and blabs; instead of white-washing the sepulchre, he makes a show of the corruption; and instead of dissembling his moral and religious sentiments,—

‘wears his heart upon his sleeve,
For daws to peck at.’

Voltaire continues the work of Saint-Evremond and Hamilton. He repeats a few of the ideas of the eighteenth century, and continues the manifestation of the spirit of Molière. Toleration, humanity, and progress were taught by him, and his prodigious

mental activity and versatility, continued during many years, made him appear to be the entire thought and life of a century. But when M. Vinet looks closely into the literature of the time, he finds that only seven of the twenty-eight writers he has grouped belong to the sect of Holbach and Voltaire; and these are, in addition to themselves, D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, Raynal, and Grimm. In politics, Voltaire was a courtier; he worshipped despotism, and flattered Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry, Frederic of Prussia and Catherine of Russia, with all the sycophancy, though without the sanctimony of a Bossuet. The levity on serious things, which revolts British readers of Voltaire, is less characteristic of the man than of the nation. He was one of the most French of Frenchmen, and this is one of the most French of French traits. This spirit runs through all French literature from Rabelais to Alphonse Karr. The scepticism displayed in Paris by the Holbach sect descended to them with their morals from Abelard and Heloise, and is still kept up by MM. Comte and Proudhon. A revolting feature, which has never been wanting in any of the chiefs of this ancient school, is the prominence each writer gives himself, and whether he labours to extinguish God or to eclipse Jesus Christ, the instrument he employs, or the substitute he supplies, is always his own image.

Three, or at most four, of the writers of the period studied by M. Vinet have forced their way into nearly all the homes of Europe. Strange to say, M. Vinet mentions one of the three only incidentally, talking only in a single paragraph of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, the author of 'Paul and Virginia.' Buffon receives due honour. The authority of Sir Walter Scott secures an eulogium for the author of 'Gil Blas'; but Saint-Pierre, although his fiction has obtained an universal popularity, and his 'Etudes de la Nature' is a French classic, is not deemed worthy of study as a specimen of his age.

Prior to the eighteenth century, the description of nature, which has yielded such fresh delight to readers ever since, was not much of a feature in literature. A Scotchman, Thomson, author of the 'Seasons,' in the English language, and Buffon, Rousseau, and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in the French language, have shared most of the honour of introducing this sweet and magnificent novelty. Buffon wrote in his books as grand monarchs enthrone themselves in their courts, splendidly, harmoniously, gorgeously, pompously, and ceremoniously. He observed the grandeurs and glories of the mineral and animal worlds, and described them in a style as stately and majestic as if his pen had been a sceptre. His genius describes majestically the wing of the humming bird, the song of the linnet, or the tail of the

peacock. Rousseau wrote on botany and scenery, in a style, which, if less dignified and elegant, is more various and impassioned, and quite as eloquent as the best pages of Buffon on cosmogony and zoology. No French writer surpasses Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in simplicity, tenderness, vividness, harmony, and brilliancy. After an adventurous, far-travelled, and diversified life, he succeeded Buffon as superintendent of the Garden of Plants at Paris. The following passage, which is descriptive of tropical clouds, is not merely a specimen of his style, and of the most beautiful literary legacy which his age has left to after times, but is fitted to remain in the mind of every reader of taste as an agreeable recollection for life.

‘I have observed in the clouds of the tropics, principally upon the sea, and in the tempests, all the colours which can be seen upon the earth. There are the colours of copper, of the smoke of a pipe, browns, reds, greys, livids, of chesnuts, and of the mouth of an inflamed furnace. As for those which appear on calm days, there are some of them so brilliant and so startling, that the like will never be seen in any palace, even should they collect into it all the jewels of Mogul. Sometimes the trade-winds, from the north-east or the south-east, which blow there constantly, card the clouds as if they were flakes of silk, and then chase them to the west, and crossing the one over the other, like meshes in an open-work basket, they throw over the sides of this network of clouds those they do not use—by no means few; they roll them in enormous masses, white as snow, shaping them towards their edges in the form of hill tops, and heaping them the one upon the other like the Cordilleras of Peru, while giving the forms of mountains, of caverns, and of rocks, and then towards evening they become more calm, as if they were afraid of deranging their work. When the sun goes down behind this magnificent network, we see passing by all its squares or lozenges a multitude of bright rays, which have such an effect, that the two sides of each lozenge, which are coloured by them, appear to be relieved by a string of gold, and the two others, which ought to be in the shade, are tinted with a superb orange red. Five or six sheaves of light, which rise from the setting sun up to the zenith, edge with golden fringes the scarcely-defined summits of that celestial barrier, and strike with the reflection of their fires the collateral and aerial mountain pyramids, which then seem to be composed of silver and vermilion. It is at this moment that we may observe in the midst of their redoubled hill tops multitudes of valleys, which are distinguishable at their openings by some shades of flesh or rose colour. These celestial valleys present in their outline tints of white, which disappear from sight in the white, or of shadows which lengthen themselves without confusion upon other shadows. You may see here and there, coming out of the cavernous sides of these mountains, rivers of light, which throw themselves in ingots of gold or of silver upon rocks of coral. *Here* are sombre rocks pierced by the light, which allow us to perceive through their openings the pure blue of the firmament. *There* are long strands sanded with gold, which

stretch over rich depths of crimson, scarlet, and emerald sky. The reflection of these occidental colours spreads over the sea, which mirrors them on azure waves, touched with saffron and purple. The sailors, leaning upon the gangway of the ship, admire in silence these aërial scenes. The sublime spectacle presents itself sometimes at the hour of prayer, and seems to invite them to raise their hearts with their wishes towards heaven. It changes every instant: soon what was luminous is only coloured, and what was coloured is in the shade; the forms are as variable as the shadows, and are in turn islands, hamlets, hills planted with palm-trees, bridges spanning rivers, countries of gold, of amethyst, of rubies, or rather none of all these, but celestial colours and forms, which no pencil can paint and no language describe.'

A marked progress from hypocrisy to frankness is observable in the writers of the eighteenth century. Rousseau, who confessed to stealing a ribbon and allowing a fellow-servant to be turned away for the theft he had committed and denied, and to sending his natural children to the Foundling Hospital is not the only example of the fashion of laying bare the secrets of the life and of the heart before humanity as before a confessor. In *Mademoiselle de Launay* a lady appears who dared to publish a full-length autobiography. Indeed, the change appears in the difference between the characters of the literary women of the two epochs. The *Princess d'Harcourt*, described by the *Duc de Saint-Simon* as notorious at court for filth, thieving, lying, and cheating, and who, after gambling until four o'clock in the morning, would rush off to church to take the communion, is only an ugly specimen of the ladies of Versailles. *Madame de Maintenon* and *Madame de Sévigné* are cited by *M. Vinet* as the representatives of them. *Madame de Maintenon* was the mistress of the king and the foundress of *Saint-Cyr* for the education of young ladies in religion and virtue. *Madame de Sévigné* depicts herself unconsciously as not merely a woman who was a hypocrite in honour, in virtue, and religion, but a mother who was a hypocrite in maternal affection. 'The lady doth protest too much.' Her professions of motherly love are eloquent and incredible. Beyond all doubt, when a gay, young, witty, and pretty widow about the court, she neglected her children for her lovers. It is beyond a doubt that her cousin, *Bussy-Rabutin*, who was put into the Bastile for talking and writing too truly and too wittily, did not calumniate her. Her maternal eloquence does not persuade anybody that her daughter could live with her without quarrels. The object of many of her letters is to persuade her daughter to leave her husband in Provence, and try, if by the effects of her beauty and accomplishments upon *M. le Prince*, at Paris, they could not turn the family countship of the *Grignons* into a dukedom. The women mentioned as types

of the eighteenth century are la Marquise de Lambert and Mademoiselle de Launay. However defective the moral maxims of the marchioness may be, they exhibit a decided improvement upon the former age. 'We remark,' says M. Vinet, 'in her advice, a pride of soul, a self-respect, which, combined with a generous and sensible character, composed her whole morality. Her favourite idea, the word which comes most frequently from her pen, is glory: she says, "If people understood their interests well, they would neglect their fortune and have no other object but glory in all the professions. * * Vanity seeks the approbation of another, true glory the secret testimony of our own conscience."' Mademoiselle de Launay was forced, notwithstanding her talents, intelligence, and acquirements, to accept the place of *femme de chambre* to the Duchesse du Maine. The Duc du Maine was by the will of Louis XIV. associated in the government of France with the Duke of Orleans, but the latter seized the whole power and proclaimed himself regent. What has since been known as the Conspiracy of Cellamare was a combination in favour of the execution of the will and against the usurpation. It lodged the Duke and Duchess du Maine and the *femme de chambre* in the Bastille for two years. Mademoiselle de Launay says they were the happiest in her life. Her memoirs give a long account of a love affair of which her prison was the scene. 'The love of the truth is what shines most in her writings and her character,' says M. Vinet, and she says herself, 'the truth is as it may be, and has no other merit than to be what it is.'

The frankness of the literature of this time is found in philosophy. Nobody will say that ambition was as much a part of the lives of the philosophers and poets who wrote under the penalties of exile and the Bastille as it was of the prelates and courtiers who, as Molière says, made a trade and merchandize of their devotion. The hypocrisy of devotedness to the church and king was a form of the most intense selfishness, which, just because it was intense, took good care to give itself fine names. But Mably boldly placed interest at the foundation of morals. Helvetius professed frankly that true morality could only be derived from interest well understood. Volney gives the doctrine a rigorous and scientific form. The moral philosophy which refers everything to self-interest may be neither sound nor large, nor deep nor high; and it is difficult to imagine how men are to be made heroes by telling them to be agreeable and useful, and careful of themselves; but the philosophers who frankly put it into words are not to be confounded with the impostors who put only the egotistical part of the doctrine into practice falsely dressed up in the noble and beautiful colours of heroism and sanctity.

The perennial seesaw of French politics made one of its most remarkable ups and downs upon the death of Louis XIV. Hypocrisy seemed dead along with him when the coffin of the pompous king passed with small pomp along the streets of Paris to St. Denis, and the Parisians expressed openly their joy and their scorn. His will was disregarded, and his policy was reversed before he was entombed. The Regent Orleans and the Cardinal Dubois talked in favour of English liberty, and formed an alliance with England and Holland. An aristocracy who had been debased into worse than the valets of royalty, and a democracy who were regarded as only raw material for the use of their masters, with a financial insolvency from which bankruptcy seemed the only escape, forced the government upon new courses and experiments. Don Juan succeeded Tartufe. Impiety came into fashion instead of Hypocrisy; and Profligacy throwing down all masks and screens, became, if less base, more scandalous.

The Abbé Raynal exhibits strikingly several of the characteristics of the time which preceded the Revolution. He was born poor, but wrote erudite books, and grasped rich abbeys of the ecclesiastical establishment, until the income which he amassed amounted to fifty or sixty thousand pounds a-year. 'Insert,' he said to Diderot and others—speaking of his 'History of French Establishments in the Two Indies'—'insert into my book whatever you like against God, against religion, against government.' These facts are suggestive of reflections. When the Revolution overtook him, and after witnessing the Terror, he repented of his philosophy, which was not, it is clear, the only thing in his life requiring his repentance. No wonder the church fell which, after exhibiting dignitaries who lived atheism, displayed stipendiaries who taught it.

Fontenelle used to say, 'histories are preconcerted fables' (*les histoires sont les fables convenus*), and we are afraid we cannot make any exceptions in favour of literary histories. The one before us does not distinguish between old and new things in the writers it discusses. Scepticism or infidelity in regard to Christianity is a thing which modern erudition finds in all the centuries of which we have records or traditions. Throughout the whole course of modern literature two great seminal civilizations are found, the Judæan and the Grecian, neither of which has as yet absorbed the other. The piety of Jerusalem has not yet triumphed completely over the scepticism of Athens. The laugh of Voltaire was not a novelty. Julian the Apostate seems to have left his spirit at Paris hovering over the site of his palace, which occupied the slope now covered by the University, the Academy, and the Pantheon. The Christianity which British Protestants believe, love, spread, and apply, the French have never doubted

nor credited, nor rejected, nor understood, nor known, nor conceived, nor imagined.

The repugnant and painful French characteristic of laughter at serious things is found in the nation still more than in its writers, and in the literature of every age, in Rabelais and in Montaigne, as in Voltaire and Beranger. Witty, but not merry—gay, but not cheerful—laughing, but unhappy—the French people, as a people, confound the ludicrous and the terrible in their history, their literature, their characters, and their hearts. They make their death's heads grimace, and the absurd colour on the cheeks of their harlequins is the red of blood. The children in their gardens play at death, and the grown people at their theatres laugh at the cholera when brought upon the stage as a farce.

Apparently the most changeable, the French are really the most immobile of civilized nations. French symbols, indeed, undergo superficially the most bizarre metamorphoses—cocks, eagles, lilies, poplar trees, hats with plumes, helmets with tufts, and red night caps; and white flags, black flags, red flags, tricolors, and oriflammes, change and replace each other, appear and disappear, with all the surprises of pantomime. Yet something of the fabled immobility of the Chinese is found among the French. The identical priesthood blesses the tree of liberty of the republic, or prays for the eagles of the Bonaparte, which for a thousand years blessed the oriflamme. The conquests of the first republic are the counterparts of the invasions of the Gauls. There have always been alternations of parliaments and bastiles, of eloquence and silence. The phenomena of the past millennium of French history, including what we have seen in our own day, can be classified under two heads—the chapter of conspiracies and the chapter of tyrannies—the actors in both being but too frequently the same persons. A family likeness runs through the successive generations of their excesses—their barricades, their nocturnal surprises, their assassinations, their massacres. The peasants whose fathers were broken on the wheel for refusing the tithe of the priest, or the forced labour of the seigneur, and the workmen of Paris who were shot down like dogs in the streets for clamouring too loudly for bread, did not need an unknown philosophy to prompt them to insurrection. They make their revolutions by barricades, as their ancestors were taught to do of old by princes, cardinals, and nobles; and there was no novelty even in the massacres of the Terror, for they were only exercises on holy lessons given by dukes, priests, and kings, at Vassy, at Rochelle, and on Saint Bartholomew's Day. The terror no doubt changes sides and hands, but still the terror is perpetual. When the eighteenth century opened, the French peasant was still a

slave, kept down to starvation and toil by the terrors of the wheel, and before it ended he was a citizen, a proprietor, and a man who held his ancient oppressors in check by the terrors of the guillotine. The tyrant, like the terror, is permanent. However he may change in name, title, family, or origin, and be called king or president, emperor or citizen, an unapproachable sacred majesty, a citizen king with an umbrella, or a plain man living above a shop, the dictator is still eternal, and the tyrant never dies. However vast the bloodshed of their wars, the mournful fact has been constantly true in almost every age that no foreigners have shed French blood like the French themselves, nor inflicted upon them half the cruelties they have practised upon each other. Century after century, again and constantly, the fact recurs and recurs that the nation exiles from it the best and bravest citizens, and sheds upon other lands the men who represented in it industry, intelligence, and independence, improvement, humanity, progress, and piety.

M. Lerminier thus sums up the influences of the eighteenth century:—‘It renewed history, propagated deism, good sense, and toleration, summed up humane knowledge, claimed the individual and social rights of man, restored religious sentiment, and founded society upon the sovereignty of democracy.’ We should word our summary differently. It recast history, it introduced the description of nature, and having found feudalism, atheism, persecution, hypocrisy, and the despotism of church and king in the ascendant, it replaced them by deism, toleration, sincerity, equal rights before the law, and the sovereignty of public opinion.

Although we dislike all attempts to resume a century in a name, and several generations in a man, and disapprove of the chronological method of writing literary history, we do not know how we can better express in a word our view of the eighteenth century than by yielding to the temptation to choose in turn a representative of it in the character of Montesquieu. If we could imagine the writers of the epoch summoned to elect their representative, we doubt if Voltaire would have received the whole of the half-dozen votes of the *Holbach coterie*, while we have not a doubt that all the rest would have been given to Montesquieu.

The Messrs. Clark have rendered an acceptable service to the British public in bringing out a translation of this work. We prefer M. Vinet as a controversialist rather than as a critic, but his labors in the latter character are eminently worthy of attention, and will do much to familiarize our countrymen with the history of French literature. A christian guide is invaluable amid the varied productions of this erratic, yet in various respects

singularly gifted, school. We are familiar with the names of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and many others, and in some cases have penetrated below the surface, but few Englishmen are thoroughly acquainted with the distinctive characteristics of a literature whose influence has extended to the utmost verge of civilization, and has been productive of large and very complex results. The guidance of such a lecturer as M. Vinet in this department of human learning will be welcomed by many students, and Mr. Bryce's translation will enable some to avail themselves of this aid, to whom it would be otherwise unattainable. The translator aims only at *fidelity*, and referring to the mode in which the work has been prepared for publication, he says, 'I cannot help paying a tribute of admiration to the fidelity and success with which the French editors have performed their very difficult task. M. Vinet's style and forms of expression are wonderfully preserved; and, in the circumstances of the case, the work could not have been brought before the public under more favorable auspices.'

ART. VI.—*The Autobiography of the Rev. William Jay; with Reminiscences of some Distinguished Contemporaries, Selections from his Correspondence, &c.* Edited by George Redford, D.D., LL.D., and John Angell James. pp. xiv.—584. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1854.

WE need scarcely say that we have read this volume with more than ordinary interest and gratification. It has, for some years past, been generally known that Mr. Jay had drawn up some account of his life and of his intercourse with some of the most remarkable persons in the religious history of England during his long residence at Bath and his periodical visits to London. Whatever expectations may have been formed of the probable contents of such a publication, here it is, very ably edited, and filled with varied, instructive, and attractive matter. When we consider the circumstances in which it has been prepared for the press, we quite agree with the editors when they say to persons who have wondered at the delay of publication, that 'when they are informed that the whole of the manuscripts had to be rewritten from a handwriting requiring no little skill and patience to decipher, and then to be carefully compared and examined; and that much new matter had to be collected to continue the thread of the narrative, and to carry it through to the closing scene,—it will be evident that no time has been lost, and that

greater haste could only have been attended with defects and incompleteness.'

The work is admirably arranged. The General Introduction to the Autobiography, Reminiscences, &c., contains some judicious observations on a man writing memoirs of himself. We are informed that Mr. Jay was in his seventy-fourth year when he began these memoirs. The Reminiscences were composed, for the greater part, at much earlier periods, some of them immediately after the death of the parties concerned.

The book is conveniently divided into Four Parts. The *First* Part contains the Autobiography, extending to not more than 171 pages. It is in the form of letters to his children. The number of these letters is eighteen.

The *Second* Part is a Supplement to the Biography, containing a report of facts not mentioned in the Biography, and a sketch of Mr. Jay's life after the completion of the Biography, with the particulars of his decease and interment.

The *Third* Part contains Mr. Jay's Reminiscences of the Rev. John Newton; Rev. John Ryland; William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P.; Mrs. Hannah More; Rev. Rowland Hill, M.A.; Rev. Richard Cecil, M.A.; Rev. Samuel Pearce, A.M.; Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.; Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M.; Rev. John Foster; Lady Maxwell, and Rev. John Wesley; Mr. Holmes; Mr. Welsh; Mr. Robert Spear; Miss Protheroe; Mrs. Smith; Mr. John Poynder; Rammohun Roy; Rev. Thomas Tuppen; Mr. Yescombe; Dr. Cogan; Rev. Benjamin Davies, D.D.; Rev. Thomas Haweis, M.D.

The *Fourth* Part contains Selections from the Correspondence of the Rev. W. Jay, amounting to forty Letters. The concluding observations form, in fact, a *Fifth* Part, on the Rev. William Jay as a preacher and as an author, by the editors.

Our readers will at once perceive what a rich treat of intelligence and piety Dr. Redford and Mr. James have here provided for them. It is due to these gentlemen that we should bear testimony to the ability, good taste, and sedulous accuracy which they have discovered. It is a volume worthy of Mr. Jay's reputation, and one which will add greatly to the respect and endearment in which their own names are held by so large a portion of the British public. We know not of any class of readers who may not be at once delighted, informed, and edified by the perusal of these pages. They whose inclinations or avocations confine their reading to the lighter sort of literature, can be regaled with touching incidents, racy anecdotes, wit, and pleasantry. They who like to see how a mason's apprentice became the associate and the guide of the wise, the eminent, and the good, will here find ample illustrations of the unexpected yet

natural paths through which this interesting man was conducted by an unseen Guide. The admirers of genius may trace its quiet labours to their noblest results. The Christian cannot but be elevated in his best thoughts, and warmed in his holiest affections, by the development of so much healthy piety throughout an unusually long course of well-employed and happy years, while he sympathizes with the humble gratitude which at every step—even the step into heaven—expressed its acknowledgments to the grace of God. To PREACHERS pre-eminently, this is a really precious book. They have here ‘an example which they may do well to emulate, and an instance of success which they will scarcely hope to surpass. The portraiture and the history are now before them, and with equal talents, superior advantages, and similar motives, diligence, and devotedness, while they have the same Gospel to preach, the same world to preach in, and the same Great Master to serve, why may not the church yet be blessed with many a young preacher who shall begin as auspiciously, proceed as successfully, and terminate as honourably, as William Jay?’

We pass over the first Letter of the Autobiography, merely observing how characteristic it is of the writer’s wisdom and love of methodical order. We must give the beginning of the second Letter :—

‘My dear Children,—In commencing this letter I have one advantage, which saves me time and trouble—I have not to trace a long and proud lineage. If any great or illustrious individuals have been found among my ancestors, they have not been ascertained in my family in my own time. But were I mean enough to feel any mortification here, I could not console myself. Lord Bacon has remarked that they who derive their worth from their ancestors are like “potatoes, the most valuable part of which is under ground.” When one of Lord Thurlow’s friends was endeavouring to make out his relationship to the Secretary of Cromwell, whose family had been settled in the county adjoining Suffolk, he replied, “Sir, there were two Thurlows in that part of the country—Thurlow the secretary, and Thurlow the carrier; I am descended from the latter.” We have read of a man who, in prospect of his promotion, being asked concerning his pedigree, answered that “he was not particularly sure, but had been credibly informed, that he had three brothers in the ark;” but one of our most distinguished poets, of obscure origin, surpasses this in his epitaph :—

“Princes and heralds, by your leave,
Here lie the bones of Matthew Prior,
The son of Adam and of Eve.
Can Nassau or Bourbon go higher?”

My parents were very respectable—that is, they were poor and *religious—religious*, not precisely according to the theory and discipline of any particular party (for as yet there was in the place no society

formed on professedly evangelical principles, nor had the preaching of such doctrines been heard there), but really and practically religious, exemplifying the morality of the Gospel under the influence of piety, or the fear and love of God—*poor*, not abjectly and dependently, but able, by frugality and diligence, to support themselves, and to bring up a family in the decencies and even comforts of village life. My father was the son of a small farmer, but he himself was a mechanic, working at the business of a stone cutter and mason. There was nothing remarkable in him as to talent or in my dear mother. They were persons of slender education, but of good, solid understanding, and of much common sense—upright, conscientious, kind, tender, charitable, according to their means—and much beloved and esteemed in all the neighbourhood. I was their fourth and only male child; but there were four daughters, all of whom are “gone the way of all the earth.” Three of them married in humble life, but to husbands sober, industrious, and much more affectionate and attentive to their wives, than many I have seen in superior conditions, and among those who are often called (for what reason God only knows) “*the better sort of people*.” The other, and who had a considerable share of wit and cleverness, was united to a man of property, and who possessed more capacity and knowledge than perhaps half the whole population of the place beside.’—pp. 16-18.

Alluding to early indications of future eminence, he says :—

‘However this may be, to compare little things with greater, I know both from report and experience, that your father exhibited nothing like this early precociousness. I can well remember with what pains I acquired reading; and my oldest sister observed, when questioned concerning my first years, “We thought he never would have learned.” But when the difficulty by which I was depressed, and for which I was often reproached, was overcome, and I felt encouragement and praise, I soon made some progress, and soon wished to make more; but what opportunities or helps did my situation afford? It may be asked if I remember whether at an early season I had any workings of mind, not growing naturally out of my condition, but having a seeming reference to my subsequent rising in life? I answer I had, and not a few, though it would not be easy to describe them. But I always felt a strange love of withdrawing myself from my playmates, and roving alone; and while pausing among the scenes of nature, of surrendering myself to musings which carried me away, and often left me lost, in doing or enjoying something indistinctly different from what I had ever actually witnessed. Our dwelling, which was my father’s own property, consisting of a double tenement, too large for a cottage, had attached to it a proportionate garden and orchard. It was situated about an equal distance from Lord Arundel’s (Wardour Castle), Pit-house, the seat of Mr. Bennett, and the splendid mansion of Mr. Beckford. The village in which it stood was wide and varied, and abounded with lovely and picturesque aspects—

“And the sweet interchange of hill and vale and wood and lawn.”

It is impossible to express the intense pleasure I felt from a child in

the survey of the rural scenery while standing on the brow of an eminence, or seated upon the upraised root of a branching tree, or walking through a waving field of corn, or gazing on a clear brook with fish and reeds and rushes. How vividly are some of those spots impressed upon my memory still, and how recoverable at this distance of time are some of the rude reflections associated with them.'—pp. 19, 20.

Describing the most important crisis of his life, he says, in the third Letter :—

'Some persons love to talk about being born again, and of their being made new creatures, with a kind of physical certainty and exactness, and refer to their conversion not as the real commencement of a work which is to continue increasing through life, but as something which may be viewed as a distinct and unique experience, immediately produced, originated, and finished at once, and perfectly determinable as to its time and place and mode of accomplishment; but I hope this is not necessary, for I have no such narrative or register to afford. A distinction is not always made between depraved nature and actual transgression. All are sinners, and all have come short of the glory of God; but all are not profligate, nor in this sense do men speak of themselves as if they had been the chief of sinners. Restraint from evil is a mercy, as well as sanctification and good works. I cannot speak as some do of going great lengths in iniquity, and thereby rendering a work of grace more sure and more divine. I bless God I was from my childhood free from immoralities. I remember, indeed, one act of gross transgression (it pains me now to review)—it was the uttering of a known and repeated *falsehood*, accompanied with an oath, to carry a point, as I was intensely at play. For this my conscience so smote me, that I was soon constrained to withdraw from my companions, and went home, and retired to implore forgiveness. But, though free from vice, I now began to see and feel deficiencies with regard to duty, and to be dissatisfied with the state of my heart towards God. I also felt my need of something more than was held forth by the preaching I heard. Without knowing the nature of this good, I was just in the condition of mind that would welcome and relish the truth commonly called evangelical. Our minister, too, from some things which I had said (for he always allowed and encouraged me to speak freely), strangely put into my hands a letter which he said had been written to a father by a young man who had (these were his own words) become a *methodist*, and wished to *convert* him. I had never heard the name before, but when, soon after, persons of this description were reported to be coming to preach in the village, my curiosity was the more excited; and from the instruction and impression of the letter, which was a very striking one, I longed to hear them, conceiving and hoping it would relieve my concern of mind. The private dwelling which Mr. Turner had purchased and licensed was first used for worship on the Saturday evening. I attended. The singing, the extemporaneousness of the address, and the apparent earnestness and affection of the speaker, peculiarly affected me; and what he said of the "faithful

saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," was like rain upon the mown grass, or cold water to a thirsty soul. I scarcely slept that night for weeping and for joy; and as the preaching was to be renewed the next morning at seven o'clock (not to interfere with the service of the Established Church), I happened to be the first that came. Mrs. Turner, who had come from Trowbridge to superintend things for a time, opened the door herself, and, taking me by the hand, benignly asked, "Are you hungering for the bread of life?" She continued talking to me most willingly for some minutes, till others began to enter. But this seemingly casual and trifling circumstance was important in the result, for from that day forward she particularly noticed me; and as I had been recently apprenticed, and was returning from my work, which was then at Fonthill House, in the evening, she often met me, and conversed with me till I reached home; and her information and addresses were more useful than many of the sermons I heard, as she adapted herself to the state she found I was in, and to the present kind of knowledge which I required.'—pp. 21-23.

Mr. Jay's narrative thus proceeds:—

'And here occurred what is mentioned, without a name, in the 'Life of Mrs. Turner,' concerning "a lad who, after hearing a discourse enforcing family worship, besought his father, upon his return home, to undertake it; and upon his refusing, on the ground of inability, offered to perform it himself. The offer was accepted with tears, and he became a kind of domestic chaplain." This lad was the writer. A little while after this he was urged to pray at the private meeting in the chapel, which he did with no little backwardness, and also with no little difficulty. Connected with this we cannot but mention a circumstance, as it affected him at the time with a shock of amazement, and has since aided him in not laying an improper stress on the figurative language of Scripture, and made him careful to avoid such views of the doctrine of grace as should exclude *any* from hope of salvation. It was this: He had prayed that our names *may* be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, but a high-toned brother from a neighbouring congregation, *who saw things clearly*, took him aside, and rebuked him for the impropriety of his expression, saying, "You know that book was filled up from eternity; and if our names *are* not written there, they never can be now."

'Bless God, my children, that from your infancy you have been familiar with a testimony too plain to be mistaken. "The Spirit and the bride say, *Come*. And let him that heareth say, *Come*. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take *of* the water of life freely."—pp. 30, 31.

Among the preachers who preached at Tisbury was the Rev. Cornelius Winter of Marlborough, nearly forty miles distant. Having remarked a youth in the congregation with peculiar attention, he sought an interview with him, which in the end transferred 'Billy Jay' to the academy of that 'celestial creature,'

as some bishop called him. Here the young student fagged hard. He was soon, and much, employed in preaching to the neighbouring villagers, of whose civility, when left to themselves, he makes honourable mention. Mr. Jay refers with much wisdom, in his old age, to the advantages to the preacher as weighed against the injury to the scholar in these early engagements. He was little more than sixteen when he began. His first sermon was at Ablington, near Stonehenge, and he preached nearly a thousand sermons before he was of age.

‘I remember a circumstance,’ he says, ‘hardly worth relating. Soon after I had begun my early career, I went to supply for a Sabbath at Melksham. At this time was residing there an old gentleman from London, a very wise man, at least, in his own conceit. I called upon him on the Monday morning. He received me rather uncourteously. He did not, indeed, censure my preaching, but rudely said, he had no notion of *beardless* boys being employed as preachers. “Pray, sir,” said I, “does not Paul say to Timothy, ‘Let no man despise thy youth?’ and, sir, you remind me of what I have read of a French monarch, who had received a young ambassador, and complaining, said, ‘Your master should not have sent a beardless stripling.’ ‘Sir,’ said the youthful ambassador, ‘had my master supposed you wanted a beard, he would have sent you a goat.’”’

If Mr. Jay had not been so soon engaged in preaching, he would have been sent by Sir Richard Hill and Mr. John Thornton to Oxford. Mr. Winter would have probably consented but for the pressing calls for the labours of the youthful preacher. Mr. Jay says, in his ‘Autobiography,’ that had the proposal been made to himself, he would have refused, on principle. In 1846, he said, in a letter, ‘How thankful I am that I did not, when a student (as some of my episcopalian supporters recommended), leave Mr. Winter’s to go to Oxford, where I must have been five or six years before I could have been ordained, when, during that time, I was preaching to thousands, and saving souls.’ The late Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, was one of Mr. Jay’s fellow-students at Marlborough. While at Marlborough, Mr. Jay, struck with a remark of Dr. Johnson’s, on the modesty of the ancients, in having so just a conception of the limitation of human powers as to confine their application to one thing, resolved that his *one thing* should be preaching; and he devoted himself to the study of improprieties to be avoided, and the making of experiments on means of attraction and impression, which might be improved by culture. As the time drew nigh for leaving Mr. Winter, he was engaged by Rowland Hill to preach at Surrey Chapel, an engagement which was renewed annually for nearly half a century. Before he left London, he resisted all applications to settle, and retired to the village of Christian Malford, where he

remained more than a year. Another year was spent at Lady Maxwell's chapel, at the Hotwells, near Bristol, whence he removed to Bath as the successor of the Rev. W. Tuppen, who had often heard him in London. He was ordained at Argyle Chapel, January 30, 1791, on which occasion he delivered a singularly *ripe* discourse for so young a preacher. He had previously married the eldest daughter of the Rev. Edward Davies, 'a pious and evangelical clergyman of the establishment, first tutor of Bengeworth, and afterwards of Coy church.' His references to that lady, in a letter addressed to her own children, and the reminiscences of his family, are manly, beautiful, and Christian. Those who remember the remarkably healthy appearance of Mr. Jay at all times, will probably be surprised at the following information:—

'I should have mentioned before, that at an early period of my ministry, I suffered very considerably from a nervous malady, and which threatened, for the time, to lay me aside from my work. This was of *my own procuring*, in neglecting for a season early rising, and proper air and exercise, and confining myself to long sedentary reading and writing. From a firm conviction of my own, I threw off, by degrees, but not without difficulty, this affecting and deplorable complaint, to return no more. Yet, as every kind of experience is useful to a minister, the suffering has been overruled for good, as it has enabled me to sympathize where otherwise, perhaps, I should have felt nothing; to warn and admonish any of my brethren likely to err in the same way; and to regulate my own applications, and to blend action with thought; and to do much of the work of the study in the open air. In vain we talk of the value of health, or expect to enjoy the blessing, unless we use the rational means for preserving it. These means will not preserve us from the sentence of mortality, but they may lengthen our days and render them more tolerable, delightful, and profitable. With few exceptions, I have always practised early rising, being seldom in bed, summer or winter, after five o'clock; and this has been with me, not as with some, who say they cannot sleep, for it has always been an act of self-denial, for I could enjoy more; but I felt a conviction that it was morally right, as it redeemed time, and aided duty; and also it was physically right, as it was wholesome and healthful. . . For how does it refresh and invigorate the body, revive the animal spirits, and exhilarate and elevate the mind! Yet how many are there, and even ministers, and young ministers not too much qualified for their work, who can sacrifice all this advantage to the lazy, low, debilitating, disreputable influences of a late indulgence in bed.

'In looking back upon the years I have passed through, for nothing am I more thankful than the cautions I was led to exercise with regard to *drinking*. I knew the danger of increase with regard to spirituous liquors; I knew what temptations a young minister of some considerable popularity is exposed to in his frequent dinings-out, especially in great towns and cities, and at the tables of professors, who vie with

each other in extravagance ; for the faithful do not always add to their faith "temperance." As far as it was in my power, by word and deed, I always discountenanced such needless and improper "feastings of themselves without fear." I commonly used water, *principally*, and for years back, *only* ; and I am fully persuaded that it has befriended my digestion, preserved the evenness of my spirits, and added to my comfort, especially in my feeling cool and fresh in the relaxation and lassitude of warm weather, while others were deservedly panting, and burdens to themselves. My natural wants were so many, that I never thought of adding to them the cravings of a fictitious appetite equally importunate. I had, therefore, no trouble or expense from the wretched habits of snuff-taking or smoking. I have often found perspiration produced by a brisk walk, or working in the garden, or cleaving of wood, the means of relieving me from many a slight ailment, especially headaches. To which I may add, that I have often also derived benefit of this kind from preaching ; but then it has not been by dry discussions, or laboured recollections, or stale repetitions, but by animating subjects, producing a lively frame, and fine glowing emotions ; then I have often come from the engagement with renewed strength, and "anointed as with fresh oil." Perhaps the thing can be physically accounted for ; if not, I have experienced the effect too often to question the truth of it. I ought to bless God, not only that my life has been continued so long after some menacing appearances, but that I have been laid by so few Sabbaths upon the whole, and can now perform my usual and occasional services with as much vigour and pleasure as ever.—pp. 103-105.

Mr. Jay's first publication was a farewell sermon to the congregation at Christian Malford. Mr. Winter's 'Address to the Reader,' and the conclusion of the sermon, are printed in this volume, and, we doubt not, will be read with much interest. Other single sermons he also published, of which, he says, 'they neither excited nor deserved much notice.' In the *eleventh* Letter to his children, he gives a modest detail of the order of his works, and the circumstances in which they were brought out. Speaking of the first and second volumes of his miscellaneous sermons, he says, 'I should, perhaps, *now* deem some of these sermons not sufficiently evangelical, but I then expected them to be read principally by those who were already acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel, and *some* of whom were more familiar with doctrinal than practical theology. It was also, at the same time, my intention to add a third volume, containing subjects of a more doctrinal character.' In mentioning the four volumes of 'Short Discourses for the Use of Families,' he tells his children, playfully, they 'procured for me a diploma of D.D.,—a dignity I never used, except once, in travelling, when I left a case of manuscripts at a large inn, the better to insure attention to the recovery, and it answered my purpose. Who, then, can deny the usefulness of such honours?'

There is something delightfully unpretending in the manner in which he describes the advantages and disadvantages of his humble origin. *Physically*, he was thankful for it. Socially, it is clear that he regretted it, as affecting his 'ease and confidence in company.' Hence arose his backwardness to speak at public meetings. In the pulpit it was different, for *there* 'the presence of God seemed to reduce creatures to their proper level.' He instances this in his declining to dine with the Duke of Sussex, and passing the time in retirement, before preaching at the opening of Dr. Collyer's chapel. One of the papers of the day abused him for the freedom of his address; but he repels the insinuation that he had transgressed the limits of a faithful preacher. There is much dignity of Christian wisdom in saying, as he does,

"Every man in his own order:" We have all our particular dispensations, under which we should be content to labour, and getting above which, we soon appear to be out of our place. Genteel life lays restraints on the expression of feeling, and gives a softness to the manners and a courtesy to the speech, especially in differences of opinion. Here, I fear, I have sometimes, if not frequently erred, having been hasty of spirit in conversational disputes, if not rudely decisive. But the great disadvantage arising from my original condition was the want of an early and good education. As this was not placed within my reach, I have no feeling of shame or of blame on account of wanting it; but I am persuaded I should, had the opportunity been afforded me, have seized it with avidity; and have made that progress which depends on some degree of talent, accompanied with much application and diligence. I say nothing, therefore, in depreciation of schools and learning, but it becomes me to dwell on any consideration that tends to reconcile me to the will of God in denying me what I shall ever deem a privilege.—p. 113.

Mr. Jay laments, in these Letters, that, while he was always a devourer of books, a rapid and miscellaneous reader, he had not been in the habit of writing out extracts from authors. He learned French that he might be able to read the works of Catholic and Protestant in that language. We are glad to read his recommendation of Flavel, in which he sympathizes with Robert Hall, and which we here most emphatically endorse. We also agree with Mr. Jay in his estimate of Baxter, and of Owen. The first page of his writing that ever appeared in print was a recommendation of 'Scott's Commentary' for private and pious use. He agreed with old John Ryland, who said of 'Henry's Commentary,' 'a person cannot begin to read it without wishing he was shut out from all the world, and able to read it through without stopping.' His method of study will be attractive and instructive to preachers, who will of course read these Letters for themselves.

For the benefit of some of our clerical readers, who have sometimes complained to us that we do not give extracts enough in our Review, we may say, briefly, that Mr. Jay was an habitual thinker;—that he chose his texts and subjects as early in the week as possible;—that, to avoid sedentariness, he accustomed himself to think abroad, musing in the garden, the meadow, the field, and the wood;—that, though he could not write shorthand, he invented contractions and natural signs;—that he seldom wrote a sermon at full length;—that he never took his notes with him into the pulpit till he was more than seventy-three, and then, he says, he was sorry he ever took them—‘the memory, like a friend, loves to be trusted, and seldom fails to reward the confidence reposed in it;’—that he wrote much and rapidly;—that he was greatly helped by the feeling of a right aim and motive;—that he kept a book with texts written at the top of the page;—and that he always had a number of plans of sermons beforehand.

From Mr. Jay’s recollections of a visit to Ireland at the time when ‘the rebellion’ broke out, and to Scotland, at the beginning of the present century, some characteristic expressions are worth gathering. Thus, speaking of the misarrangement of his journey in the north, he says:—

‘Had the ark been built by a committee, it would never have been finished—(a sort of *Irish* joke, by the way). Having been cautioned against relating anecdotes in Scottish pulpits, he says, ‘I knew I should do better with my sling and stones than in Saul’s armour. My preaching could never dispense with my own manner, and which I am sure was natural to me, and not derived from the schools. Towards the conclusion of my mission, I was preaching in the Isle of Bute, and near the end of the sermon I mentioned the *caveat* I had received before I left England; and adding that I then felt a strong temptation to break through it. I paused and then said—“Well, whatever be the consequence, I will introduce the following anecdote.” I saw it told; and the ministers coming afterwards into the session-house or vestry, said, “You have laboured under a great mistake, we are not averse to anecdotes, but to *some* kinds of them, and to the *manner* of relating and applying *any* of them. When they are well chosen, and properly introduced, they are peculiarly acceptable as they are more unusual with us, and we want excitement more than information.”’—p. 137.

From so eminently successful a preacher, it was expected that his Autobiography would abound with wise, practical hints to his brethren, and the expectation is not disappointed. He greatly approves of the Scottish habit of expository lecturing on Sunday mornings. He generally knew how it would go with him in the pulpit before he left the study. He strongly advocates the distinct mention of the parts of a sermon. He prefers extemporaneous speaking—after due preparation—to reading, or reciting

from memory. He compares the delivery of a whole sermon, in the same style and tone, to a picture without shades. He would have arguments brief and plain, and appealing to common sense, and illustrated by some fact or image.

‘There is nothing against which a preacher should be more guarded than length. “Nothing,” says Lamont, “can justify a long sermon. If it be a good one, it need not be long; and if it be a bad one, it ought not to be long.” Luther, in the enumeration of nine qualities of a good preacher, gives, as the sixth,—“That he should know when to stop.” Boyle has an essay on patience under long preaching. This was never more wanted since the commonwealth than now in our own day, especially among our young divines and academics, who seem to think their performances can never be too much attended to. I never err this way myself, but my conviction always laments it; and for many years after I began preaching, I *never* offended in this way. I never exceeded three quarters of an hour at *most*. I saw one excellency was within my reach—it was brevity, and I determined to attain it.’—pp. 142, 143.

Mr. Jay appears not to have been insensible to the strictures made upon his preaching. Nearly the whole of the sixteenth Letter is on the subject, and the remainder to the subject of pastoral visitation. The remarks are useful to hearers as well as to preachers and pastors, and we regret that our limited space forbids our making extracts from them.

We scarcely know how to express our satisfaction in reading the last two Letters, in which the aged writer—‘the old man eloquent’—takes a general survey of his private and public life, together with the state of religious denominations, contrasting former things with present, and hoping brightly for the future. He supposes himself asked, if he would be willing to go over life again. Here is his hearty, healthy answer:—

‘I should not shrink from the proposal of repetition. “Goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life.” My duties have not been burdening and irksome. My trials have been few compared with my comforts. My pleasures have been cheap and simple, and therefore very numerous. I have enjoyed, without satiety, the seasons and the sceneries of nature. I have relished the bounties of Providence, using them with moderation and thankfulness. I have delighted in the means of grace; unutterable have been my delights in studying and perusing the Scripture. How have I verified the words of Young:—

“Retire and read thy Bible to be gay.”

Preaching has been the element of my heart and my head. My labours have met with much acceptance, nor have I laboured in vain. I have seldom been without hearing of some instances of usefulness from the pulpit and the press. God has honoured me to call by my labours not a few individuals, even into the ministry. The seat of my residence was, of all others, the place of my preference. My condition has been

the happy medium of neither poverty nor riches. I had a most convenient habitation, with a large and lovely garden—a constant source of attraction, exercise, and improvement. I had a sufficient collection of books of all kinds. My wife was a gentlewoman, and a domestic goddess. My children were fair, and healthy, and dutiful. My friends were many, and cordial, and steady. Where shall I end?

“Call not earth a barren spot,
Pass it not unheeded by;
'Tis to man a lovely spot,
Though a lovelier waits on high.”

I do not believe in this earth misery preponderates over good. I have a better opinion of mankind, than I had when I began my public life. I cannot, therefore, ask what is the cause that the former days were better than these? I do not believe in the fact itself. God has not been throwing away duration upon the human race. The state of the world *has* been improved, and *is* improving. Who justifies slavery now? What noble efforts have been made to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free! How is the tendency to war, on every slight pretence, giving way to reference and negotiation! How delightful is it to think of what is doing abroad among the heathen; and the exertions that are put forth by all denominations of Christians to make the Saviour's way known upon earth, and his saving health among all nations!—pp. 158, 159.

In a similar strain he reviews the past, and anticipates the future, in his commemorative discourses on the fortieth and on the fiftieth anniversaries of his ministry in Bath, which are largely quoted from in the ‘Supplement to the Autobiography.’ We dare not attempt to abridge, or quote, the latter portions of his narrative. They are very chaste and beautiful. The ‘Domestic Sketches,’—‘Dr. Bowie's Recollections of Mr. Jay,’—and Mr. Jay's ‘Familiar Expositions at the Prayer Meetings’—are exquisite; but our readers will go for them to the volume itself.

The Third Part.—‘Practical Illustrations of Character, or, a series of Reminiscences,’ by William Jay, is really a cabinet of gems. We cannot forbear making a few extracts, which will induce all who can to procure and read the whole. There are some racy anecdotes of the Rev. John Newton, vicar of Olney, and afterwards rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London.

‘In the family worship, after reading a chapter, he would add a few remarks on some verse or sentence, very brief, but weighty and striking, and affording a sentiment for the day. Whoever was present, he always prayed himself. The prayer was never long, but remarkably suitable and simple. After the service and the breakfast, he withdrew to his study with any of his male friends who could remain for awhile, and there, with his pipe (the only pipe I ever liked, except

Robert Hall's) he would converse in a manner the most easy and free, and varied, and delightful, and edifying.

... There was nothing about him dull, or gloomy, or puritanical, according to the common meaning of the term. As he had much good nature, so he had much pleasantry, and frequently emitted sparks of lively wit, or rather, humour. Yet they never affected the reputation or comfort of any one, but were perfectly innocent and harmless. Sometimes he had the strangest freaks of drollery. Thus, one day, by a strong sneeze, he shook off a fly which had perched on his gnomon, and immediately said, "Now, if this fly keeps a diary, he'll write, 'To-day, a terrible earthquake!'" At another time, when I asked him how he slept, he instantly replied, "I'm like a beef-steak—once turned, and I'm done."

"Some people," said he, "believe much better than they reason. I once heard a good old woman arguing in favour of eternal salvation. 'Sir,' said she, 'I am sure, if God had not chosen me before I was born, he would never have chosen me after.'"

At another time he mentioned facetiously, and with his peculiar smile, the language of a poor, good woman, when dying:—"I believe his word, and am persuaded, notwithstanding my unworthiness and guilt, that my Lord Jesus will save me from all my sins and sorrows, and bring me home to himself; and if he does, he will never hear the last of it."

He one day told me of a countryman, who said to his minister, "You often speak of our forefathers; now, I know only of three, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Pray, sir, who is the *fourth*?"

He also, more than once, mentioned that he knew a good man and woman who read the Scriptures morning and evening in their daily worship, to whom a gentleman gave a folio commentary to aid them. But after they had tried it for some time, the husband said to the wife, "I think we did better before we had this great work. When we read the Bible itself only, it was like a glass of pure wine, but now it is like a glass of wine in a pail of water."

I recollect a little sailor-boy calling upon him, with his father. Mr. Newton soon noticed him, and taking him between his knees he told him he had been much at sea himself, and then sang part of a naval song. Was this beneath him? Would not the lad always favourably remember him?

One morning in the family worship he read 2 Peter iii. 1-9, the last words being, "but he is long suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should persist, but that all should come to repentance." He began his exposition thus: "These words, I suppose, are a hard bone for a Calvinist to pick." He was aware that one in the company required some moderating. This person, a little too forward, as well as too high, afterwards, as we were at breakfast, rather abruptly, said, "Pray, Mr. Newton, are you a Calvinist?" He replied, "Why, sir, I am not fond of calling myself by any particular name in religion. But why do you ask me the question?" "Because," he replied, "sometimes when I read you, and sometimes when I hear you, I think you are a Calvinist, and then again I think you are not." "Why, sir,"

said Mr. Newton, "I am more of a Calvinist than anything else; but I use my Calvinism in my writings and my preaching as I use this sugar,"—taking a lump, and putting it into his tea-cup, and stirring it, adding, "I do not give it alone, and whole; but mixed and diluted."

'I remember another instance of Mr. Newton's candour and liberality. When Dr. Buchanan, who had been much befriended by him, went out to India, holding a valuable ecclesiastical appointment, he seemed at first to have been shy of the Baptist missionaries. Upon hearing this, Mr. Newton wrote him a kind but faithful letter, in which he said (I had this from his own mouth), "It is easy for you (little as yet tried in character, and from your superior and patronized station) to look down upon men who have given themselves to the Lord, and are bearing the burden and heat of the day. I do not look for miracles; but if God were to work one I should not wonder if it were in favour of Dr. Carey." The admonition was well received, and this great and good man became kind and friendly.

'I saw Mr. Newton near the closing scene. He was hardly able to talk; and all I find I had noted down upon my leaving him is this: "My memory is nearly gone; but I remember two things. That I am a great sinner, and that Christ is a great Saviour." And, "Did you not, when I saw you at your house in Bath, desire me to pray for you? Well, then, now you must pray for me."—pp. 271-281.

Mr. Jay's acquaintance with the Rev. John Ryland, sen., M.A., began early. That singular person was keeping a seminary at Enfield, but passed his vacations at the house of one of his sons, carrying on trade in Blackfriars-road, near Surrey Chapel:—

'He was a peculiar character, and had many things about him *outré* and *bizarre*, as the French would call them; but those who have heard him represented as made up only of these are grossly imposed upon. We are far from justifying all his bold sayings, and occasional sallies of temperament; but, as those who have known him can testify, he was commonly grave, and habitually sustained a dignified deportment, and he had excellences which more than balanced his defects. His apprehension, imagination, and memory, to use an expression of his own, rendered his brains like fish-hooks, which seized and retained everything within their reach. His preaching was probably unique, occasionally overstepping the proprieties of the pulpit, but grappling much with conscience, and dealing out the most tremendous blows at error, sin, and the mere forms of godliness.'

Their first meeting was at the house of a wholesale linen draper in Cheapside. Mr. Jay, a young man, was awed by the figure of a man with square-toed shoes, a wig of five stories behind, large and open coat sleeves, and the flaps of his waistcoat nearly touching his knees. Mr. Ryland walked to him, laid hold of him by the collar, shook his fist in his face, and roared out—'Young man, if you let the people of Surrey Chapel make you proud, I'll smite you to the ground!' Such was the strange pre-

face to a kind conversation and a peculiar intimacy of many years' standing. Mr. Jay makes grateful mention of his obligations to him in many ways. We select the following out of many striking anecdotes:—

'Speaking of him one day to Mr. Hall, he related the following occurrence:—"When I was quite a lad, my father took me to Mr. Ryland's school at Northampton. That afternoon, I drank tea along with him in the parlour. Mr. Ryland was then violently against the American war; and the subject happening to be mentioned, he rose, and said, with a fierce countenance and loud voice—"If I was General Washington, I would summon all my officers around me, and make them bleed from their arms into a bason, and dip their swords into its contents, and swear they would not sheath them till America had gained her independence." I was perfectly terrified. "What a master," thought I, "am I to be left under!" and when I went to bed, I could not for some time go to sleep.

'Once a young minister was spending the evening with him, and when the family were called together for worship, he said—"Mr. —, you must pray." "Sir," said he, "I cannot." He urged him again, but in vain. "Then, sir," said he, "I declare if you will not, I'll call in the watchman." At this time a watchman on his round was going by, whom he knew to be a very pious man (I knew him too); he opened the door, and calling him, said—"Duke, Duke, come in. You are wanted here. Here," said he, "is a young pastor that can't pray. So you must pray for him."—pp. 289-292.

We have heard and read many expositions of the story of the woman of Canaan; so probably have most of our readers; but we confess we have never met with any equal to the following. At the house of a lady where Mr. Ryland and Mr. Jay spent the evening together,—

'At the domestic worship, he said, "You, Eusebius" (so he commonly called me, I know not wherefore); "you shall pray, and I will for a few minutes expound." (He was never tedious). He took the story of the woman of Canaan. After commenting on her affliction, and application for relief, he came to her trial and her success; reading the words, "*And he answered not a word:*" he said, "Is this the benefactor of whom I heard so much before I came? He seems to have the dead palsy in his tongue." "*And the disciples came and besought him, saying Send her away, for she crieth after us;*" "and why should we be troubled with a stranger? We know not whom she is, and she seems to be determined to hang on till she is heard." "*But he said, I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;*" "and you know *you* are not one of them; and what right have *you* to clamour thus?" "*Then came she falling at his feet, and cried, Lord, help me! But he said, It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the dogs; and she said, Truth, Lord, yet the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table.*" "What I want is no more to thee than a crumb compared with the immense provisions of Thy board;

and I come only for a crumb, and a crumb I must have; and if Thou refuse me a seat at Thy table with Thy family, wilt Thou refuse me a crawl and a crumb underneath? The family will lose nothing by my gaining all I want." Omnipotence can withstand this attack no longer; but He yields the victory, not to her humility, and importunity, and perseverance, but to her *faith*, that produced and employed all these; for "all things are possible to him that believeth." "O, woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt." "Lord, what was that you said?" "Why, be it unto thee even as thou wilt." "Why, then, I will have my dear child instantly healed." "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt." "Why, then, I will have my poor soul saved." "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt." "Why, then, I will have all my sins pardoned and destroyed." "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt." "Why, then, I'll have all my wants supplied from thy riches and glory." "Be it unto thee even as thou wilt. Here, take the key, and go, and be not afraid to rifle all my treasures." Now, Mrs. —, this woman was a dog, a sad dog, a sinful dog, and if she had had her desert, she would have been driven out of doors; and yet there is not a woman in this house comparable to her. Let us pray.

'N.B. I relate as characteristic what I did not wholly admire as proper. I repeat the same with regard to another instance. He took my place on Tuesday evening at Surrey Chapel, and preached a most striking sermon from Daniel's words to Belshazzar,—“But the God in whose hands my breath is, and whose are all my ways, hast thou not glorified.” After an introduction giving some account of Belshazzar, he impatiently and abruptly broke off by saying,—“But you cannot suppose that I am going to preach a whole sermon on such a ——— rascal as this,” and then stated that he should bring home the charge of the text against every individual in the place, in *four* grand instances.’—pp. 293-295.

It will be remembered that, nearly ten years ago, the life of Mr. Wilberforce was published by his two clerical sons, the present Bishop of Oxford, and the late Archdeacon of the East Riding of York, wherein their excellent father was painted as a churchman after their own heart. In anticipation of that work, and after its appearance, Mr. Jay was known to declare, in effect, that when his own Autobiography should come to light, after his decease, he would show the truth on that subject, and cover the reverend biographers with confusion. Recollecting this, we opened this part of the present volume with not a little eagerness, and we must confess that we are far from being disappointed. How these gentlemen treated Mr. Wilberforce's intimacy with Mr. Jay will appear from the following notices, which are *all* that the present editors have been able to find:—

Vol. ii. p. 234, under date 1797.—‘Sunday, Randolph's, morning. Evening, Jay's—comfortable, happy Sunday.’

Vol. ii. p. 240, same year.—‘Asked to subscribe to Jay's velvet cushion, but refused.’

Vol. ii. p. 313, date 1798.—‘Sir George Beaumont, Creykes, &c., with us. Jay told us his origin and story very simply—a bricklayer employed on Beckford’s house—began to preach at sixteen—humble and not democratical.’

Vol. ii. p. 351, date 1799.—‘I found that so much use was made of my going to Jay’s that I have kept away.’

Vol. ii. p. 361, date 1800.—‘Referring to a projected bill to restrict dissenting preachers, and stating that he had explained to Mr. Pitt the only limitation of the Toleration Act to which he would consent, viz., that no one should exercise the office of a teacher without a testimonial from the sect to which he belonged, he says:—“This would put a stop to the practice which I am told prevails at Salisbury, and (as I heard from Mr. Jay, the dissenting minister) at Bath, of a number of raw, ignorant lads, going out on preaching parties every Sunday.”’

Vol. v. p. 258, date 1825.—‘—— at Jay’s, where I greatly wished to go, but thought it wrong.’—pp. 321, 322.

We refer the reader to the just observations made by the editors of Mr. Jay’s Autobiography on these entries.

The impression produced by the sons of Mr. Wilberforce is entirely contradicted by the fact of his close intimacy with Mr. Jay for nearly thirty years, by his frequently entertaining him at his table, by his introducing him to his selectest friends, by his corresponding with him familiarly and confidentially, by his accepting the dedication to himself of ‘The Evening Exercises,’ and saying, as he did, in a letter to Mr. Jay, ‘I cannot be satisfied without assuring you, with my own pen, that I feel honoured as well as gratified by the proof of your esteem and regard for me, which you gave by desiring to place my name at the head of your publication. It gives me unaffected pleasure to reflect that my name may thus be permanently associated with yours; and may this, my dear sir, with all your labours of love, be abundantly blessed.’

There could scarcely be a stronger mark of sincere regard and christian confidence than what is given in a long letter from Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Jay, dated near Bath, Sept. 22, 1803. It is a beautiful composition, evidently written with great care, and breathing a spirit of manliness, fidelity, and practical sagacity which we have seldom found united in such graceful harmony. In this letter he mentions the few opportunities he had then had of hearing Mr. Jay, as ‘*the greatest* of (his) Bath pleasures.’ He refers to a prevalent impression, in which he sympathized, that of late Mr. Jay’s preaching had not been ‘sufficiently evangelical.’ For the sake of the ‘poor wretched upper classes,’ whose ‘wretched ignorance in spiritual things’ he urges on Mr. Jay’s continued ‘pity,’ delicately suggesting the kind of preaching by which he believes good would be done to them.

With true dignity, Mr. Jay acknowledges that the letter was needed, that it was seasonable, and gratefully received, and that he found it useful. We have been informed that the biographers of Mr. Wilberforce, being told that Mr. Jay had the letters which appear for the first time in this volume, endeavoured in vain to procure them. We do not know that either they, or the majority of their readers, will care much about their being here ; but it is certainly the duty of the periodical press to publish as widely as possible the proofs they afford of the liberal feelings of that very eminent father of sons who have walked in a much narrower path, and who have represented him after a fashion which, in this respect, is so far from being the thing as it was. The other reminiscences of Mr. Wilberforce, from Mr. Jay's pen, add greatly to the value of this volume.

It appears that, after the publication of the 'Life of Mrs. Hannah More,' Mr. Jay was requested by the publisher, Mr. Cadell, to undertake a more select and compendious memoir of that lady. Mr. Jay declined it, but intimated the probability of his leaving behind him some recollections of his friend. Those recollections are now published. Mrs. More attended *frequently* and *commonly* at Argyle Chapel, and *once* she joined the church there in the Lord's Supper. In the last volume of her 'Life' are several anecdotes concerning her, communicated by Mr. Jay. Mis-statements in the larger 'Life,' as well as in the smaller one, by the Rev. Mr. Thompson,—who had no personal knowledge of Mrs. More,—are here corrected. She was not so 'spotless a *church-woman*' as her biographers have tried to make her ; yet, as Mr. Jay observes, 'In her sketches of good and evil characters, the excellences are almost always exemplified in members of her own church, while defects and improprieties are found in the adherents to methodism and dissent. Her reading, her personal acquaintances, her judgment, her candour, should have prevented this. There is no perfection on this side heaven.'

At Mrs. More's house, Mr. Jay sometimes met the celebrated Alexander Knox, the correspondent of Bishop Jebb, and he records it as his opinion, that 'he helped to prepare the way for Puseyism.' Dr. Stonehouse, formerly a physician, and a friend and hearer of Dr. Doddridge at Northampton, became, late in life, a clergyman in Wilts, famed for eloquence, and for the impressive manner of reading the prayers. Mr. Jay speaks of him as a sensible and accomplished man, but excessively fond of human praise. 'His sentiments were the skim-milk of the Gospel ; but he must be classed as belonging to the evangelical clergy, though very near the border that separates them from others.'

We have noticed not more than four of these 'Practical Illus-

trations of christian character; yet, nearly all the rest have equal claims on our attention. Of *the Rev. Rowland Hill* he speaks as preferring presbyterianism to either independency or episcopacy;—that he had never seen or heard Whitefield;—that his talents were much superior to what many may imagine;—that it was difficult to fix his mind long on one subject;—that he was not regular enough in his discourses;—that many stories told of him are false, and others grossly exaggerated;—that he was greatly wanting in *candour*, and sometimes in common courtesy, to some who differed from him conscientiously in some religious convictions;—that he was tender-hearted and beneficent;—that he was too sensitive in matters of personal offence, allowing them to *linger* about his spirit;—that he was a great preacher of the Gospel. Of Mr. Hill's *wit*, he gives some sparkling specimens. Speaking of the value of the Gospel in all the relations of life, he once said, in the hearing of Mr. Wilberforce, 'In a word, I would not give a farthing for that man's religion whose *cat* and *dog* were not the better for it.' 'Reading in my pulpit the words of the woman of Samaria at the well—"the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans"—looking off, as if he saw the parties themselves, he exclaimed, "but the *devil* has had dealings enough with both of you."

Here are some rather keen rebukes.

'When a preacher of no very good reputation was in the vestry of a place where he was going to preach, and seemed uneasy lest his servant should not arrive in time with his cassock, Mr. Hill said, "Sir, you need not be uneasy; for I can preach without my cassock, though I cannot preach without my character."

'As he was coming out of a gentleman's house in Piccadilly, he met in the passage a minister with a begging case, who, though popular with some, had, it was suspected, been imposing for a good while on the religious public; who offered him his hand, but Mr. Hill drew back, and looking him in his face, said, "Ah, I thought you had been hanged long ago."—p. 363.

Of the Rev. RICHARD CECIL, Mr. Jay says,—“I thank God that I ever heard the *preacher*, or was in company with the *man*. Of the Rev. Samuel Pearce, he says:—

'It may seem saying much, but I speak the words of truth and soberness,—when I have endeavoured to form an image of our Lord as a preacher, Pearce has oftener presented himself to my mind than any other I have been acquainted with: not, however, as he *began* his ministry. Then he was too rapid, and had a kind of tiptoe motion in the pulpit; but after awhile—when his delivery was distinguished by mildness and tenderness, and a peculiar unction derived not only from his matter but his mind, I cannot accurately convey the appearance and impression he made, yet I can see the one, and feel the other, even at this great distance of time.'—p. 373.

Mr. Jay was well acquainted with the Rev. ROBERT HALL, both in the early and the later stages of his ministry. He speaks of Mr. Hall's earlier preaching as 'certainly intellectually greater and more splendid than it was for many years before his death;' and he ascribes the change, not to any declension of ability, but partly to religious considerations of duty and usefulness, and partly to the increased number of sermons which he had to prepare not allowing so much time to elaborate and polish. The many readers of the 'Eclectic,' who honour the memory of Mr. Hall, will be much gratified with Mr. Jay's impartial treatment of several passages in Mr. Hall's history, and the high testimony he bears to his earnestness, as well as to his extraordinary powers of mind. The following anecdotes are very like Hall. Speaking of Dr. Ryland, he said,—“Sir, he's piety itself; and if there were not room for him in heaven, God would turn out an archangel to make room.” I one day asked him his opinion of a female who attended his ministry at Leicester. “Sir,” said he, “she has the manners of a court, and the piety of a convent.”

The Rev. JOSEPH HUGHES, ‘the first suggestor of the British and Foreign Bible Society,’ was an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Jay's for upwards of forty-three years, and annually supplied his pulpit in Bath for several years. It is charming to read what he says of him after his decease. ‘I am thankful for my intimacy with him. My esteem of him always grew with my intercourse. *I never knew a more consistent, correct, and unblemished character.*’

Mr. Jay's estimate of FOSTER strikes us as the best specimen of judicious criticism in the entire volume. We shall probably be accused of editorial self-consequence for quoting what he says of Mr. Foster's ‘Reviews.’

‘Mr. Foster, though great in all his productions, appears to me greatest in his ‘Reviews.’ The more I read them, the more I am astonished at the quickness and clearness of his perceptions; the power of his discrimination; his detection of sophistry; his love of fairness, rectitude, and truth; his sly, yet just sarcasms; his stinging satire; his abomination of pedantry and pretence. Nor is my admiration abated by comparison, when I read the contributions of Macaulay, Jeffrey, and Macintosh; and nothing surprises me more than that the purchase of the two volumes of his contributions has not been rapid and extensive enough to induce the editor to send forth the large remainder, now shut up in the ‘Eclectic Review.’—p. 408.

We regret that we cannot quote any of the interesting letters on any portion of the ‘Concluding Observations,’ which we have read with much approbation.

While we heartily agree with all that the editors have said of

the singular powers of Mr. Jay as a successful preacher, and in their general commendation, we are, at the same time, bound to give our own judgment, that it is in the highest degree undesirable to regard him as a *model* for imitation. He was endowed with all the physical elements for being an impressive and pleasing speaker, and it was his wisdom to cultivate them, which he obviously did with marked success, so as to have at all times the appearance of remarkable *naturalness*. Perhaps no man ever took more pains to become what he was. It was his passion, his ambition. He gave himself wholly to it, and he succeeded in being, as Foster designated him, the 'Prince of Preachers.' To be an *imitator* of Mr. Jay, without resembling him in his natural qualities, bodily and mental, would be to insure failure by deserving it, as not a few facts have proved. Still there is a sense in which he ought to be regarded as a great example. *He made the best of what he was.* This is what we venture to recommend to young preachers. Let them keep a conscientious watch over every physical habit, avoiding what experience has proved to be injurious to the full development of all the bodily powers, of which the power of speaking well is one, and one always affected by the condition of the rest. They cannot *afford* to study in such a manner, or in such a degree, as to injure their health. *That* ought never to be sacrificed to the attainment of any kind of literary eminence. Equally careful, and quite consistently with this fundamental physical power, let them be constantly *disciplining* their intellectual faculties, not by judicious reading only, but by thought, by experiments in finding truth, and by continual attempts to give the results of their own studies in a manner which arrests, and which rewards, the attentions of an audience. Let them master the knowledge of the power of *words*, when properly chosen, well arranged, and spoken in a natural manner. Let them spare no pains in acquiring such a mastery of their own voice as to be always audible without straining, musical without affectation, sustained without monotony—giving the easy, full, and satisfying expression of the thoughts they would suggest, and of the emotions they would excite. Let them *thus* emulate the great preacher of Argyle Chapel, in that which he did *before* he ascended the pulpit, and they will be as like him *in* the pulpit as it is either desirable or possible that they should be. This is scarcely the place for urging on every preacher the grandest lesson of Mr. Jay's public life—the earnestness, humility, and constancy of that private devotion without which we cannot conceive of any man either striving or deserving to be a good preacher. As there is so large a variety in men's capabilities, aptitudes, attainments, and tastes, we can have no expectation that preachers should greatly

resemble each other in anything but in those essential points which belong to the very work itself in which they are all engaged. Within the range of this substantial unity there is an almost unbounded scope for every kind of excellence, as varied as the endless phases of Nature in every one of her departments. They are all wanted. They can all contribute, each his own share, to the universal service. Each may excel in his own particular way. There may be emulation without jealousy. There may be lasting usefulness without great popularity. Happy is he, and honoured greatly he will be, who can impress his hearers with the belief that he does his best to interest, to instruct, and to save them. Because we believe that this volume, rightly used, will greatly help the increase of such preachers, we conclude by giving it our respectful and fervent commendations.

ART. VIII.—*Siluria. The History of the Oldest known Rocks containing Organic Remains, with a Brief Sketch of the Distribution of Gold over the Earth.* By Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, G.C.St.S., &c. &c. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1854.

As the political economist rejoices in the trim hedgerows and varied produce of the new inclosure which was yesterday a monotonous waste, so may we take pleasure in beholding fresh accessions to the cultivable domain of observation and reason. In the geological maps of a quarter of a century since, the many coloured diagonal belts stretching N.W. and S.W. across England, representing its varied rock formation, were succeeded towards Wales by an unvaried patch of yellow colouring, extending to the western shores, which the index informed us was distinguished by the uncouth hopeless term of *grauwacke*. In the geological maps of the present day, the same district is chequered with bands of many hues, not introduced merely to please the eye as

‘Geographers on pathless downs
Place elephants instead of towns,’

but denoting actual physical changes in the condition, character, and contents of the strata thus depicted.

The Atlantic, in the north-east corner of Cardigan Bay and at Menai, beats against cliffs of the oldest stratified rocks in these islands; they contain no traces of former organized life, and are in the volume before us designated as Longmynd or bottom rocks. The rest of the western-coast line of the Principality is

occupied by strata, similar in appearance, but containing some calcareous bands which are fossiliferous. These are named Llandeilo beds, and continue eastward until near the opposite border of Wales, where they are succeeded by the yet more fossiliferous Caradoc, and the latter by the Wenlock, so well known for its fossils at Dudley; then the Ludlow; higher still the old red sandstone, or where that is absent, the carboniferous limestone and coal.

The discovery and development of these sequences, and of the numerous interesting facts connected with them, has been the labour of the distinguished author of 'Siluria.' He has in this volume given us the consummated results; the facts collected from various quarters of the globe marshalled in the order of the index so fortunately established at first; and the philosophy founded on twenty years' patient exposition and discussion.

The 'Proceedings of the Geological Society of London for the year 1834' contain the outline of the author's discoveries in the strata below the old red sandstone; and in the following year he characterized them as a group having a common facies, and denominated them by a term borrowed from one of the ancient British border tribes, once occupying the index territory. At this time he had principally explored the eastern limits of this earliest field of observation, leaving to his illustrious compeer, Professor Sedgwick, the Herculean task of reading off the gradations of the great scale as it descended among the rugged mountains of North Wales. In due time Professor Sedgwick announced *his* results independently, and by right of conquest bestowed the name of *Cambrian* upon the mass of the lower Welsh rocks. On the final classification of the labours of these two eminent observers, aided by the enterprises of other volunteers, and by the regular campaigns of the government surveyors, it has become manifest that the 'Cambrian' is only the Welsh-ward extension of the Llandeilo flag formation, and thus the cognomen of the Cambridge professor is ultimately restricted to a few spots occupied by the old Longmynd non-fossiliferous rocks, whilst the true Silurian, in a threefold division of upper, middle, and lower, occupies the greater part of the principality. These alterations of terminology will explain certain vindictory and antagonistic allusions in the work before us; intelligible only to those who have watched for the last few years the friendly combats which have diversified—without damage to morals or physics—the course of recent proceedings in the palæozoic world. Much of the present volume is taken up necessarily with stratigraphical details, but it also contains many passages, and even whole chapters, which are interesting to the non-geological reader, as containing general views concerning the order and succession

of vital and physical phenomena in the ages when these old-life rocks were built up.

Speaking of the lowest sedimentary rocks, Sir R. I. Murchison says—

‘The geologist sees before him an enormous pile or series of early subaqueous sediment, originally composed of mud, sand, or pebbles, the successive bottoms of a former sea, all of which have been derived from pre-existing rocks; and in these lower beds, even where they are little altered, he can detect no remains of former creatures. But lying upon them, and therefore evolved after them, other strata succeed, in which some few relics of a primeval ocean are discernible, and these again are everywhere succeeded by newer deposits in which many fossils occur. In this way, evidences have been fairly obtained to show, that the sediments which underlie the strata containing the lowest fossil remains constitute, in all countries which have been examined, the natural base or bottom rocks of the deposits termed Silurian.

‘The hypothesis that all the earliest sediments have been so altered as to have obliterated the traces of any relics of former life which may have been entombed in them, is therefore opposed by examples of enormously thick and varied deposits beneath the lowest fossiliferous rocks, and in which, if animal remains had ever existed, some traces of them would certainly be detected.’—p. 21.

Yet we find that this absolutely azoic condition is only a local phenomenon, for similar rocks on the opposite coast of Ireland yield a small zoophyte (*Oldhamia*), at present the earliest trace of organic life of which we have any accurate knowledge. We need not, therefore, be surprised at having in future to record the discovery of more forms in this primeval zone, though it may be properly concluded that the muster roll will be brief, and the names inconsiderable. The middle ages of Siluria—the Caradoc,—is in Wales the most uninteresting of the group. It has wealth of its own, but not the riches of the upper beds, nor has it the high interest of the early dawn of the lower beds. It is frequently quartzose and unfossiliferous. The Upper Silurians are described as mudstones. ‘As the older schists and slates of Wales were assuredly at one period nothing more than finely laminated marine mud, so is it still more apparent that such was the former state of the greater portion of the Upper Silurian; for even at the present day it is an accumulation of similar materials, though in a softer and less coherent state.’

After describing the district which was and is the home of the system, the author extends his observations to similar and associated formations in other parts of the United Kingdom; and then, after a most interesting account of the wondrous organic forms found in each division, takes the clue and type thus afforded, and ranges the world over. Scandinavia, Russia, Germany, Belgium, Bohemia, America, and nearly every part of the

globe furnishes its evidence in aid of the order of succession thus established. From the map of Silurian rocks, given in this volume, we learn that nearly identical forms of oceanic life once pervaded the greater portion of the earth. The author's former works have been more elaborate in geological description, but this is a cosmical survey of the deepest seated fossiliferous rocks. It contains an exposition of the relics of the first great natural-history system that prevailed on the surface of our planet.

The facts, briefly alluded to by Sir Roderick, of the occurrence of anthracite, and occasional thin courses of limestone, in the bottom rocks, strike the note of preparation for the subsequent marvels of organic animated life. Then follow the zoophytes, molluscos creatures, and crustaceans, which once made the waters of the old world instinct with being. During countless ages, whilst the thick bands of Silurian deposits were being accumulated, pelagic creations prevailed. Here and there we find traces of beach or sandbank, sometimes of land vegetation, but the predominating phenomena tell only of the 'deep, deep sea.' This order of things is disturbed by frequent outbursts of volcanic forces, and the ejection of molten products, on a scale of which we have no present example.

Though well trained in the school of modern geology, of which he is indeed a distinguished master, yet the author cannot wholly resist the temptation to speculate on the origin of things. The tinges of cosmogony in pp. 3, 4, 21, and 22, show the fascinations which allure us on the borders of induction; and never is Imagination better pleased than when sent forward by her companion Knowledge to explore alone in the dark.

The general purpose of the book is however well defined and adhered to.

'Its aim is to mark the most ancient strata in which the proofs of sedimentary or aqueous action are still visible,—to note the geological position of those beds which in various countries offer the first ascertained signs of life, and to develop the succession of deposits, where not obscured by metamorphism, that belong to such protozoic zones. In thus adhering only to subjects capable of being investigated, it will be seen, that geology, modern as she is among the sciences, has revealed to us, that during cycles long anterior to the creation of the human race, and while the surface of the globe was passing from one condition to another, whole races of animals—each group adapted to the physical conditions in which they lived—were successively created and exterminated'—pp. 4, 5.

A desirable addition to the work would have been a table of all the Silurian fossils, showing the vertical range of each species.

The formation of such a table from Mr. Morris's recent catalogue,* is a work of mere detail, but the result would show the absolute unity of the group of life characterizing these extensive deposits; whilst the addition of the localities where found, would disclose points of analogy, and frequently of contrast, between the present and the remote past. Such a table would also indicate the fact of the succession being in accordance with prescribed order, with reference to an end; *that* end being the preparation of the present condition of things physical. It is quite delightful to read amid these rude and distant regions the sentences of our Heavenly Father's will, and to note the tokens of his care from everlasting. 'In surveying the whole series of formations, the practical geologist is fully impressed with the conviction, that there has, at all periods, subsisted a very intimate connexion between the existence, or at all events, the preservation of animals, and the media in which they have been fossilized.'

From this point of view we may remark that geology knows of no instance of the recurrence of precisely the same collocation of facts in the range of its annals. There have been sandstones of all ages, conglomerates of all ages, and so on, but no two occurring at intervals in point of time are precisely alike in mineral composition and fossil contents. On the other hand, the diversities along the line of any single geological horizon may be great, the sandstone of one place may harden into shale, or become polarized into slate, or degenerate into conglomerate, and the organic contents may vary laterally, but the variations are limited, all the species have a common facies, and, *as a whole*, constitute one distinct stage of animated nature. Thus there are 1500 species of fossils in the Silurians of Bohemia; many of these are unknown in Wales, many known in North America, but in each of these places there is a good division between Upper and Lower Silurian; the species occurring as characteristic of any bed in one country is, if found at all, found in the same relative position in the others. There are about one hundred species only common to Upper and Lower Silurian formations. The observer soon learns the lesson taught by the father of English geology—W. Smith—that rocks are characterized by fossils; and he will soon ascertain that whilst vertical differences are constant, lateral variations are only trivial.

The curious zoophytes, called graptolites, are most common in Lower Silurian, and become entirely extinct before the close of the palæozoic series. Corals are more abundant in the upper, but they are of forms which also become extinct before the secondary rocks

* Morris—Catalogue of British Fossils. 1854.

were deposited. The tiny creature which plays so remarkable a part in tropical seas, has had its predecessors (of representative, though not identical form) in all ages. We hardly know which is the most surprising spectacle, the coral masses of the upper tertiaries on the Norfolk coast, of the oolite in the Thames valley, of the Devonian, or of Siluria. The visitor to the now thronged watering-place of Boulogne may, by making a pleasant excursion of ten miles to Ferques, near Marquise, find the ancient coral cups of the Devonian, some of them two feet across, in freshness equal to those of recent growth, lying under the grass on the edges of the limestone quarries. He may dislodge them without trouble, and see the shells of ancient *terebratulæ* still hanging on to the outer rims in stony festoons.

The *cystideæ* and *crinoids* are most abundant in the Upper Silurian, constituting much of the marvellous tracery of the well known Dudley limestone. One of the crinoid creatures is frequently found with its predatory arm in the cup of a little univalve, *acroculia halotis*.

‘From the very frequent occurrence of the same shell, tightly embraced by the arms of this crinoid, and from the fact, that the mouth of the shell is always turned downwards over the proboscis, it is inferred, and without much doubt, that it was the habitual food of the animal. This has been long observed by Mr. John Gray, of Dudley, who has dissected many specimens from the stone to illustrate the point. And it has received further confirmation by the naturalists of America, Mr. Yandell and Dr. Shumard having observed the same feature in several of the beautiful Silurian crinoids of America.’—p. 218.

A few star-fish remind us more of existing things, from which they chiefly differ in the possession of arrangements allying them to the extinct *encrinites*. Little marine molluscos creatures, of a family called *brachiopods*, living all their life long moored by a short rope to some rock or weed, protruding from between their shells two arms beautifully fringed, drawing their air and food by the currents made by cilia, like the infusoriæ, are strongly represented in these old rocks. Of all the genera so found, there is only one, the *lingula*, that has come down to the present time. This little creature, living in a pellucid shell shaped like a gondola along the edge of Polynesian tropical reefs, links together the most ancient and modern epochs of molluscos life. Many other shells, belonging to creatures of higher reputed organization, are also found in the Silurians, including several that appeal at once to our sense of the beautiful for admiration. Some small univalves are decorated with ornaments evidently equalling those of their successors in the cabinets of the present. Such is the inconceivable opulence of creation! Surely there are and have been others beside ourselves, with

perceptions perhaps keener and emotions sounder than ours, who have witnessed with admiration these wondrous works !

The highest forms of molluscous life, the fierce *cephalopods*, are represented chiefly by straight *orthoceratites*, and do not attain the prominence which the ammonite gives to this order in the secondary strata. More abundant than tiny crabs at low water on a rocky shore were the trilobites, the *Dudley fossil* of our forefathers. But little above the very earliest accumulations in which any animal remains occur, are numerous beds of these crustaceans. The slates are quite charged with them in many places. Several genera are peculiar to the Lower Silurian, ranging from Europe to America. They became less abundant in the Upper Palæozoics, and died out altogether in the carboniferous rocks. Some other creatures of the same class may be traced by the trail they have left on the primeval shores in their tidal peregrinations amidst the shallows on the beach. The attentive geologist may trace their 'spoor,' as the South-African would study that of the hippopotamus.

We venture, for the sake of future observers in this delightful field of science, to collect a few of the axioms which may now be considered well established, and which will be found variously illustrated in the volume before us. Such are the following,—that softness and hardness in rocks is no indication of difference in antiquity ; that mineral appearance is not a reliable proof of age ; nor absence or presence of igneous rocks ; that organic remains usually occur along bands of limestone ; that the most ancient organic life with which we become acquainted was subjected to the same vital and physical forces that are now in action ; that it was endowed with similar instincts, organs, and properties, to the present ; that predatory creatures have exercised their ravages as a countercheck to the monopoly of the appliances of life by any one race, from the first ; that the most ancient shores were alternately laved and deserted by tidal waters as now ; that there have been successive introductions of added organized creatures ; that everything has happened according to the plan of a Supreme Governor.

Notwithstanding the copious information afforded by this work, and by others referred to in it, much remains to be done, both in the field and in the study, in this department of human knowledge. We cannot regard with satisfaction as geologists the condition of the base line of the Silurian, nor of either line of the Devonian system. We may look for further discoveries in the bottom rocks, which may even yet exalt the Cambrian into a less shadowy position than it now occupies. Just now it lives, too much like Ossian, only in the person of its renowned hero. The Upper Palæozoics require a more universal

classification than has yet been given, for at present what is carboniferous in Ireland is Devonian in Cornwall. Sir Roderick intercalates in his work a chapter on gold-bearing rocks, which we prefer treating with other works on that tempting topic.

The concluding chapter contains a lucid and most welcome contribution to general geology. It sums up the evidence yielded by fossil organic remains, descends by these wonderful stone stairs the depth beneath, and announces as deductions from large, skilful, careful observations there, the fundamental fact of a *Divine* creation. Sir Roderick disposes of the reasonings of those geologists who find no trace of a beginning and ascribe to causes in present operation all the transitional phenomena of the past, by an appeal to the organic contents of the Silurian formations, so different from all above them.

‘The uniformitarian who would explain every natural event in the earliest periods by reference to the existing conditions of being, is thus stopped at the very threshold of the palace of former life, which he cannot deprive of its true foundations. Nature herself, in short, tells him through her most ancient monuments, that though she has worked during all ages on the same general principles of destruction and renovation of the surface, there was formerly a distribution of land in reference to the sea, very different in outline from that which now prevails. That primeval state was followed by outbursts of great volumes of igneous matter from the interior, the extraordinary violence of which is made manifest by clear evidences. Fractures in the crust of the earth, accompanied by oscillations that suddenly displaced masses to thousands of feet above or beneath their previous levels, were necessarily productive of such translations of water, as to abrade and destroy solid materials, to an extent infinitely surpassing any change of which the historical era affords an example.’—pp. 475, 476.

Sir Roderick concludes a cosmical survey of these interesting phenomena by the following induction, equally able, pious, and profound. ‘From the effects produced upon my own mind through the study of these imperishable records, I am, indeed, led to hope, that my readers will adhere to the views which, in common with many contemporaries, I entertain of the succession of life. For, he who looks to a beginning, and traces thenceforward a rise in the scale of being, until that period is reached when Man appeared upon the earth, must acknowledge in such works repeated manifestations of design, and unanswerable proofs of the superintendence of a CREATOR.’

There are some works which we hail with delight, not only for their intrinsic merit as contributions to positive knowledge, but because they serve as epochs in the progress of science. Like platforms in deep mines they are not only available for lodging the accumulations of past labour, but as a common waiting

ground for ascending explorers from which to redate the chronology of the ascent. Such is the book before us. Long must it be the standard reference book in palæozoic literature, nor will the augmentations of a rapidly advancing science ever render its facts insignificant, or its reasons obsolete.

ART. VIII.—*Report: Decimal Coinage.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, August, 1853.

THE ideas prevalent with regard to money are, for the most part, grounded on a vague conjecture, that there is some intrinsic or real value in the metals gold, silver, and copper. It follows, that the ideas of money and wealth are frequently conjoined, and that money is apparently the object all desire, instead of which it is but the means for obtaining that object. By gleaning the scanty information which history supplies as to past and present systems of currency, we shall be able to show, that it is for no such reason alone that gold, silver, and copper, have been chosen for coinage. A universal system of barter once regulated the supply of food to families. The difficulties arising from inability to give value for value, must have been the ground for the adoption of some sort of currency. We thus arrive at the measuring of the value of all commodities by one fixed standard. This standard, which was at first cattle, is now money. Shells are current as money in some parts of India, under the name of *cowries*; in Africa, under the name of *bouges*; in the kingdom of Congo, under the name of *zimbi*. Fruits have been used in Mexico, the *cacao* and the *maize*, as money; in India, the *almond*. The American Indians are accustomed to use *peltry*, or skins, as money. *Leather* and *paper* money seem to have been used in Tartary. *Salt* is used for money in some countries; it is cut into brick-shaped pieces, and thus passes from hand to hand. *Corn* has been used for money. In Iceland and Newfoundland, *dried fish* performs the functions of money, and in some of the West India Islands, *sugar* has been employed. *Nails* were once the circulating medium in parts of Scotland. Among the ancient Britons, *iron rings*, or, as some say, *iron plates*, were current as money; among the Lacedæmonians, *iron bars* quenched with vinegar, that they might not serve any other use. Seneca refers to *stamped leather* as being the representative of value. The Hollanders, in 1574, coined great quantities of *pasteboard*. But we must confine ourselves to the monies of Great Britain.

When Britain was connected with the Roman empire, the coins of that empire became the current money of the island,

and coins of nearly all the emperors have been found in greater or less numbers in almost all parts of the country. Till the time of Carausius (A.D. 287), these Roman coins are supposed to have been actually minted on the Continent. A fine specimen is extant in the British Museum, and has the letters M. L. on it, conjectured to imply *Moneta Londiniensis*. On better grounds, the letters P. Lon. on a copper coin of Constantine the Great, are conceived to represent *Pecunia Londiniensis*. From the time of Claudius down to the time of Valentinian the Younger, it would seem that we used Roman coins; and, indeed, until the time of Ethelbert, we have no information of any other system of coinage. We then read of the pound, *pund*; the shilling, *scilling*; the penny, *pening*; the halfpenny, *halfling*; the farthing, *feorthling*; and the half-farthing or *styca*. The pound was merely *money of account*; and probably the shilling was not an actual coin. All the rest were *silver* coins, except the last, which was of alloyed *copper*. These seem to be the first coins made of silver, copper having been coined previously by the Romans. Other monies, most likely of *account* only, as no specimens have ever been found, were—the *mark*, equal to two-thirds of the pound; the *mancus*, of the value of thirty pennies; the *ora*, a Danish denomination, equal to sixteen pennies; the *thrysmā*, equivalent to three Mercian pennies; and the *triens*, the third of a single penny. Five pence made a shilling; and forty shillings, one pound. *Pence*, however, were the only *real* money. But, even then, cattle and sheep served the purpose of a living medium of exchange, as in all other imperfectly civilized countries. There is a comedy in which an allusion seems to point to the use of *leather* money in England before the Conquest: the wealth possessed by a lady has been buried with her, and one of the characters exclaims:—

‘Why, this was such a firk of piety
I ne’er heard of: bury her gold with her!
’Tis strange her old shoes were not interr’d too,
For fear the days of Edgar should return,
When they coined leather.’

The English money, though the names do not correspond to the same quantity of precious metal as formerly, has not changed its value so much as have the monies of other countries. William the Conqueror seems to have adopted our present monetary proportions; but whether *he* altered the superior table of Ethelbert or not, is uncertain. About this time, we hear of the first gold coin in England, called the *Byzantine*—a coin introduced by the Danes, and now valued at fifteen sovereigns. It appears, however, that, between the time of William the Conqueror and of Henry II., the coinage had been tampered with so

as to reduce its value. But, in 1154, Henry II. restored it to its standard value. In the time of Richard I., money from the East was in special request on account of its purity. Such monies were called *easterlings*, from which word is derived our English word *sterling*. Pennies of silver were the only monies coined in that reign; and these were deeply impressed with a cross; so that, in giving change, they might be easily broken into half-pence, or farthings. A 'History of Allchester,' printed in 1667, contains the following curious passage:—'King Edward I. his leathern money bearing his name, stamp, and picture, which he used in the building of Carnarvon, Beaumarish, and Conway Castles, to spare better bullion, were, since I can remember, preserved and kept in one of the towers of Carnarvon Castle.' Edward I., however, was the first to establish a certain standard for coin. Under this monarch, the practice of attempting a likeness of the reigning sovereign on the coins was intermitted; instead of which, he adopted a conventional king's head, which continued without alteration for eight successive reigns, including the commencement of that of Henry VII. Edward III. first coined gold (previously to this time, exchanged by weight) in pieces, which were called *florences*, *half-florences*, *quarter-florences*; afterwards he coined *nobles*; then *rose-nobles* or gold pennies, of the value of 6s. 8d.; *half-nobles* or half-pennies, and *quarter-nobles*, or farthings of gold. In silver, he coined the *groat* and the *half-groat*. The issue of gold pennies was very partial. In the same reign, the words *Dei gratiâ* were first regularly inscribed on the coins of this country, having long been in use on those of France. Edward III. seems to have had but a limited supply of bullion, since he had recourse to alchemy to endeavour to make up the deficiency. Henry IV. prohibited the use of alchemy, lest by such means the coinage should be debased. Under him, were probably coined *rose-nobles*, *double rose-nobles*, *great sovereigns*, and *half Henry nobles*, *angels*, and *shillings*. In the reign of Henry VI., the Master of the King's Mint in Ireland was authorized to coin certain money; among which, were brass coins to be of the value of one silver penny each, and to have a certain device; and others, of a like weight and material, to have a different device. Henry VII. issued a coin called a *testoon*. In the reign of Henry VIII. private leaden tokens were used to supply the lack of silver coins. The same monarch, in order 'to maintain his charges in Ireland, being now hard put to it for lack of monies, by reason of the vast treasure wasted in his expeditions into France and Scotland, and compelled by necessity, gave directions to coin brass money, and commanded it by proclamation to pass for current and lawful money in all parts of Ireland.' In this reign, gold crowns were first coined, as also

ryals of the value of eleven shillings and threepence. Edward VI. coined the sixpenny and threepenny pieces. It is uncertain whether he or Mary the First issued the half-crown, but we prefer assigning it to Mary. During the reign of Elizabeth, the use of private tokens for money had grown to such an extent as to be a subject of frequent complaint. They were variously made of lead, tin, latten (a mixture of copper and zinc), and even of leather. It seems to have been a deficiency in the smaller coins, such as half-pence and farthings, that led to the issue of these tokens, and proposals were therefore made to strike legal farthings; but copper coins were not struck by authority till the reign of James I. A sort of middle measure was adopted, whereby important cities or corporations were allowed to issue tokens. Thus the queen granted a licence to the city of Bristol to coin tokens, which were made of copper, with a ship on one side and C. B. on the other. These coins were current in and near the city of Bristol only. In the year 1559, her majesty employed Sir Thomas Gresham to borrow for her £200,000 at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased. She was so impolitic as to sanction a deterioration in value by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time, says Hume, erroneously, that the coin has been tampered with in England. Elizabeth, in 1601, coined, also in silver, three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces.

As we have stated above, no copper coin was struck by authority till the time of James I. It appears that copper pence, half-pence, and farthings, began to be coined in this reign; tradesmen had commonly carried on their retail business chiefly by means of leaden tokens; in consequence, perhaps, of the small silver penny being soon withdrawn, and, at this time, nowhere to be found. Under the same reign were coined *unites* of the value of twenty shillings, *double crowns*, *Britain crowns*; then, *crowns* and *half-crowns*. By this time, the want of a sufficient supply of small coins was again felt, and private traders seem to have issued on their own account leaden farthing tokens. It was estimated, that, in London, there were as many as three thousand persons each of whom had issued leaden farthings to the amount of five pounds a-year. Charles I. cut up his plate into pieces of a certain weight, in order to obtain necessities. These pieces were sometimes stamped with a rude device, and, when so stamped, were called *siege-pieces*. He, however (though the fact has been overlooked by Hume), debased the silver coin to one-fourth of its value. Between the reigns of the two Charleses, there were coined gold pieces of the respective values of 50, 40, 20, 10, 5 shillings. Fifty nine gold pieces were at this time in circulation (some of

them foreign) and of different values, from 2s 9d. to £1 16s. 4d. Charles II. coined a five-pound piece. In September, 1661, the thirteenth year of his reign, a proclamation was issued, declaring that the gold and silver coined during the period of the Commonwealth, should not be current after the last day of November in that year. The whole of this, however, does not seem to have been got in; for, on the 7th of December, another proclamation was issued, declaring that these monies should be current, in payment of taxes only, till the 1st of May; by which time, all would appear to have been called in. The issue of private tokens prevailed again in this reign. It was carried to such a pitch that persons who engaged in the traffic, frequently received twenty shillings of good silver for tokens that did not cost them twenty pence; and, before the time came for the knaves to redeem their tokens, they absconded, and the poor people were the sufferers. A proclamation was issued, forbidding the coining or circulation of such pieces, and convenience was made for the exchange of large money into copper farthings. *Tin* (at present the cant phrase for money in general) was coined into money by Charles II. in 1684; but it was soon found, that the king had his tin farthings sent back to him in payment of taxes, and the scheme was consequently abandoned. His successor, James II., signalized himself by the issue of brass money, with other coins made of gun-metal and pewter. The Bank of England was established in the reign of William and Mary; during which, the entire currency was recoined, and the guinea passed through five different values. In the reign of George II., who coined a *Georgian*, silver and copper were again so scarce, that labourers were employed without payment until their wages amounted to a double-pistole or a moidore; and great sums of money were made by those who gave change at a per-centage for these gold coins. From these facts, we see that the native properties of the three metals, copper, silver, and gold, constitute them the best materials for coinage. The comparative scarcity of silver and gold gives them a peculiar value, which, added to the hardness and durability of these metals, places them at the head of every currency.

We have, then, the copper coins of a farthing, a halfpenny, and a penny, from the time of James I.; the threepenny bit coined by Edward VI.; the fourpenny bit by Edward III.; the sixpence by Edward VI.; the shilling by Henry IV.; the half-crown by Mary; the crown by James I.; the sovereign and the half sovereign, under the names of twenty and ten-shilling pieces, by the Commonwealth. These coins, with the addition of the florin, introduced into our monies at the suggestion of Dr. (now Sir John) Bowring, form our present system of monies. As we shall have to speak of the monies of *account*, *estimation*, and

coinage, we begin with a definition of these terms as hereinafter used.

‘Money of *account* is any money which is used in accounts—any money for which a column is ruled in the books. The items of our present money of account are pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings.’

Money of *estimation* is that coin to which, as possessing a real value, other coins or tokens are considered as bearing a certain fixed relation. Our sovereign is the only money of estimation; the shilling, &c., being esteemed as a twentieth, &c., part of it.

Money of *coinage* is whatever token is legally current, and for which value in goods can be obtained. All our thirteen pieces are monies of coinage.

The money of account has not vastly altered since the time of Ethelred, the only change being the introduction of the farthing. The money of estimation has gone through very various successive changes, consequent on the debasements that have been mentioned as taking place. The money of coinage has been the most of all altered. In the time of Ethelred, it consisted of only one piece. Various parts of the monies of coinage have, in the course of their history, ranged themselves in a binary scale or system; and, from observation, this seems to have been the tendency of the issues in each reign. We have a smaller number of coins in circulation now than at the time of the Commonwealth for instance; but, at the same time, we have not so great a regularity of system, as when the silver penny, marked with a cross, was capable of being broken into halves or quarters. The chief point insisted on in relation to the present decimal question is this:—‘That an entirely decimal system of accounts should be introduced, in combination with such alterations of coinage as will be best adapted to, and will most certainly be the means of introducing, such a system of accounts.’

Why should a change at all be made? is a question that it is natural to put. The answer is conveyed in another question: Have you not perceived that the present system is attended with *great inconveniences*? To do more, however, than merely point out the inconveniences of the present system, would be beyond the province of this paper. In fact, only a few of such inconveniences can here be mentioned; others are sure to occur to the thoughtful mind. Beyond all doubt the old system is inconvenient in *education*. The rules of Compound Arithmetic, Reduction, and Practice, are at once peculiarly irksome to the teacher and most difficult to the scholar. Could we get rid of these, and at the same time considerably simplify all practical, or, as it is called, *commercial* arithmetic, (which we shall show can be done,) a great boon would be conferred on both teacher and

pupil; and it would be *felt* to be a boon in spite of its novelty, if novelty the system adopted should happen to have. But this is not really the whole inconvenience. So long as the schoolmaster confines himself to the simple rules of arithmetic, he benefits his pupil, and fits him for whatever occupation in life he may be destined to; but, when he once leaves these simple rules, and teaches what really constitutes compound arithmetic, he then, instead of fitting his pupil for business, is really but implanting seeds of weeds in his mind, which will have to be eradicated before the 'ready-reckoner' rules practised by each class of tradesmen can be inculcated. Take, as an instance, the following:—4 lbs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ oz. of meat at $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.—the arithmetic of the schoolboy would run thus:—

lb.	:	lbs. oz.	::	d.	:	Ans.
1	:	4 $3\frac{3}{4}$::	$7\frac{1}{2}$:	
16		16		4		
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		
16		67		30		
4		4				
<hr/>		<hr/>				
64		271				
		30				
		<hr/>				
		64)8130(127				
		64				
		<hr/>				
		31—3				
		173				
		128		2—7—3		
		<hr/>				
		450				
		448				
		<hr/>				
		2				
						Ans. 2s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Now, the butcher will have done this in his head, in a twinkling, by some rule of his own producing the same result, while the poor bewildered boy is still puzzling himself how to 'state' the question. Sir C. W. Pasley says, that 'there are many complex accounts in which you have to reduce pounds into shillings, pence, and farthings, and afterwards to reduce them back again by division into pounds, which is exceedingly inconvenient.' 'I believe,' he adds, 'the inconvenience is acknowledged by every person, except those who are in the habit of working out accounts daily by *routine*.' Here we may mention that these inconveniences arise frequently from not having any one figure to refer to in common. Thus, if I multiply 9d. by 8, the result is 72d., which is exactly 6 shillings, the number of shillings having been obtained by dividing 72d. by 12; so that we have no common figure throughout the whole question! The instance above given is, perhaps, the most simple of its kind; and from it

may be derived a fair notion of what is meant by complexity of accounts. The disadvantage of the present system, so far as regards foreign exchanges, is described by one witness as 'immense.' There are, it appears, thirty countries with which our merchants transact business: twenty of these have the exchange stated in foreign money. It is an investigation involving considerable labour, to ascertain what monies we ought to get in exchange for our English coins. These are but three out of numerous inconveniences, many more of which will readily occur to intelligent readers. The present system, it has been justly remarked, 'is shown to entail a vast amount of unnecessary labour, and great liability to error, to render accounts needlessly complicated, to confuse questions of foreign exchanges, and to be otherwise inconvenient.'

We now come to what substitutionary systems have been proposed. In reality, one only has been brought forward; but, since a second has been hinted at, and that by no less a person than Professor Airy, it demands that we should at least mention it, and state what reason the Astronomer-Royal assigns for its non-adoption, as also what real disadvantage would attach to it as a system. The scale mentioned by the Professor is the binary. He attaches no importance whatever to the 5; and, on its own account, the only factor in the 10 that he considers it necessary to retain is the 2. But, he observes, the 5 as well as the 2 occurs as a factor of 10; and the importance of the 10 rests on a totally different ground; namely, that it is accommodated to our ordinary decimal arithmetic. Now, as it appears to us, the retention of the 2 as the basis of a new system, would have two disadvantages. The first of these is, that it would make an inconveniently large number of moneys of account. Suppose the sovereign retained (as we shall hereafter find it must be in *any* system), we should have the half-sovereign, the crown, the half-crown, a piece of the value of 1s. 3d., a piece of $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., a piece of $3\frac{3}{4}$ d., a piece of $1\frac{7}{8}$ d., a piece of 15-16ths of a penny, a piece of 15-32ndths of a penny, and a piece of 15-64ths of a penny. And, with the exception of the pounds denomination, no denomination would appear in any entry in an account book as more than 1. Thus we should have £4 19s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. represented as £4 " 1 " 1 " 1 " 1 " 1, or 17 marks, as a supposed simplification of 12 marks. Again, if the sovereign does *not* appear in an entry, we can only have 10 marks; while in the binary system we must have 29 marks with which to represent certain sums of money. The second disadvantage is, that the binary scale agrees with no existing system in any country; and, consequently, would not necessarily simplify any questions of foreign exchange.

The system that has been actually proposed is, *the decimal*

system, which has many and great advantages. The adoption of a decimal system would, in the first place, be found to be advantageous in *Education*. Compound Arithmetic would be no longer needed; as an instance, let it be required to multiply 785 by 643.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 785 \\
 643 \\
 \hline
 2355 \\
 3140 \\
 4710 \\
 \hline
 504755
 \end{array}$$

Now, this single operation will be found to embrace the following questions.

1st. The simple multiplication of 785 by 643.

2nd. The multiplication of 785 yards by 643.

3rd. The multiplication of 785 yards by 643 yards, producing 504,755 square yards.

4th. If 1 yard cost £7, 8 florins, and 5 cents, how much will 643 yards cost?

5th. If £1 make a profit of 6 florins, 4 cents, 3 mils, what profit will £7, 8 florins, and 5 cents make?

6th. If a bankrupt's estate pay 6 florins, 4 cents, 3 mils in the pound, what will be paid on a debt of £785?

'It is very obvious,' observes Professor De Morgan, 'that corresponding questions proposed in our existing system would require many more figures to be written down. And, more than this, the mental operations which are not written down in either, are much more difficult in the existing than in the decimal system.'

Reduction also would be virtually, though not really, dispensed with. Thus, Reduce 18,436,000 mils to pounds: the answer is obtained by simply cutting off the last three figures. In this example, they are cyphers. But, take another, Reduce 18,436,597 mils to pounds and decimal parts of a pound: the answer is £18436·597, or £18436, 5 florins, 9 cents, 7 mils; and *vice versâ*.

That multiplication will solve all questions in the rule called Practice, is shown in the instance of multiplication as above. We must further note, that, in commercial arithmetic, Vulgar Fractions will be done away with—and very properly—because *now* the rules of Greatest Common Measure and Least Common Multiple are rules which the learner has to get by rote, and apply, without having any insight into them, or any proof of their truth. The Rule of Three will also be virtually abandoned, because questions of proportion will then arise in the following simple form. If

1000 ounces of gold cost £3765, what will 64 ounces of gold cost?

$$\begin{array}{rclclcl}
 \text{oz.} & & \text{oz.} & & \text{£} & & \\
 1000 & : & 64 & :: & 3765 & : & \text{Ans.} \\
 & & & & 64 & & \\
 & & & & \hline
 & & & & 15060 & & \\
 & & & & 22590 & & \\
 & & & & \hline
 & & & & 1000)240960 & &
 \end{array}$$

Ans.—£240 9 florins, 6 cents.

But, *in practice*, the division by 1000 will be performed by placing the last three figures after the decimal point. Even simple and compound interest will be seen to range themselves as instances of the above example—*e.g.*: What is the simple interest of £187 at 3 per cent.?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 187 \\
 3 \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

561 Ans.—£5 6 florins, 1 cent.

The adoption of a decimal system of arithmetic would reduce immensely the labour of both teachers and scholars. In schools, it would save considerable time in the arithmetical education of youth; so much so, indeed, that, as one competent witness testifies, more would be learnt in one day than in twenty days under our complicated system. The new system, moreover, could be undertaken and carried out without any difficulty. Nay, more; even in the present state of education, it falls under the duties of most masters to give their pupils instruction in decimal arithmetic. To such an extent is this the case, that more than half the examples worked in schools involve the principles and practice of decimals more or less. Now, under the new system, the teaching would, of necessity, be practical and fitted to the every-day transactions of commerce.

The advantages resulting in relation to accounts and business, are comprised in the preceding remarks; for it, of necessity, follows, that, if there is any advantage in commercial education, there must be that same advantage to the transactions of commerce itself. With regard more especially to foreign exchanges, we must take into consideration that the most important countries with which at present we have business connexions, have based their calculations upon the decimal system, and that, consequently, the nearer we approach to such a system, the more easy it will become to settle all questions connected with foreign exchanges. This remark may, perhaps,

suggest to some the practicability of adopting one of those decimal systems already in vogue. On this point we shall offer a few remarks when we come to consider how the decimal system is to be established, or, rather, what decimal system we shall have.

What, then, shall be our decimal system? Some desire has been manifested to make our new system correspond to the system of some one country with which we are closely connected by commercial ties. The French and American systems have been proposed. Could we be certain that the standard of value would remain the same in either of these countries, or that causes operating both here and in either of them at the same time would compel both us and them to alter the standard value, if altered at all, at the same time, we should then have no great objection to adopting either the one system or the other; but we find that there is no security whatever that there would be a simultaneous change in the standard of any pair of the three countries. In France, deteriorations in the coinage have formerly taken place, and may, for aught that we can tell, take place again. Within the last century, the United States have changed their gold coinage three times; in the first instance, they called the pound sterling 4 dollars 44 cents; at a subsequent period, they raised it to 4 dollars 67 cents; and it is at present received at the banks as 4 dollars 84 cents. Even now, they are deteriorating their silver seven per cent. Consequently, were we to make such an adjustment as the one proposed, there would be no certainty of its continuing for any length of time. Our transactions, too, would be materially affected by such a change; for the English sovereign is virtually current all over the world, while the gold coinage of other countries is really not. This results from the greater purity of our sovereign; and it would, consequently, be more advisable to get other countries to adopt our gold standard than that we should adopt theirs.

The plan next proposed is that of commencing from the farthing, as a basis, and thus altering the value of all the gold and silver currency as expressed in farthings; in fact, making a cent $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., a florin 2s. 1d., and a pound, under some other name, £1 0s. 10d. This proposal is contended for on the delusive plea that the penny is of so much importance to the poorer classes that it cannot be altered in value, even though the alteration preserve the shilling and sixpence untouched. 'Against this system,' observes a distinguished promoter of the decimal system, 'we contend that the fixture of the penny at its present value is not a matter of any consequence even to the poorest classes; and that this assertion is fully borne out with evidence. The working classes think of their larger contracts in shillings, and

not in pence ; and, as to their smaller contracts, it is obvious that no year elapses without greater changes than four per cent. taking place in the quantity of almost anything which can be bought under sixpence.'

The decimal system for which several bodies of men are agreed to contend, is one in which the sovereign is retained at its present value, and is divided decimally into parts to bear the respective names of florins, cents, and mils ; so that ten mils shall make one cent, ten cents one florin, ten florins one pound. It is contended on behalf of such a system, that it is desirable to retain the sovereign as the unit of calculation, as being at present the standard coin by law, and the basis of calculation with respect to the value of land and other property ; that, by retaining the sovereign at its present value, we shall keep the basis on which all our exchange transactions with the world rest ; and that, in addition to this, its retention will afford the means of introducing the decimal system with a minimum of change. Its tenth part already exists in the shape of the florin or two-shilling piece. An alteration of four per cent. in the present farthing will serve to convert that coin into the lowest step of the decimal scale necessary to be represented by means of an actual coin. While the addition of a coin called a cent, and of the value of ten mils, will serve to complete the list of coins necessary to represent the monies of account.

Having thus determined what the scale of the new system shall be, it becomes needful to point out what shall be the *unit* in that scale. And, here, we have to determine what shall be the unit of *account*, what shall be the unit of *coinage*. We have not to consider what shall be the unit of *estimation* ; since, although, in reality, we have a unit of estimation in the present system, or rather two units—viz., the pound and the shilling ; yet, these have never been called by such names, and it is probable that no determination whatever on this point would make the people regard any one coin as a proportional part of any other fixed coin. That is to say, were the florin, for instance, adopted as the unit of estimation, we should not necessarily connect the mil with it as a hundredth part, nor view the sovereign as ten of it.

The unit of account or reckoning is also really unnecessary to be fixed. It has been stated, that the sovereign is the present unit of account ; but will this statement bear investigation ? There are evidently four units of account, and that these will continue to be such, is certain. Imagine it possible that a child keeps an account ; he most assuredly may be supposed to keep it in farthings, and no fixing of a unit of account will in any way whatever compel him to reckon, under the new system,

in any denomination but mils. Suppose again, that poor people keep accounts (a circumstance at least doubtful), since they, it seems, have more frequent transactions with a penny than any other class, it follows that, if accounts are kept by them, they are kept now in the penny denomination, and that, under the new system, the denomination of cent would be that under which this class of persons would keep their accounts. Suppose, once more, a class which is more accustomed to the use of a shilling than any other class, these persons, if they happen to keep accounts, do so under the shilling denomination; and, were the new system introduced, they would necessarily reckon in florins (provided that the shilling be omitted in the new coinage). The chief accounts, then, which have to be dealt with, are already kept in sovereigns. By this class, composed of merchants and tradesmen, the sovereign is undoubtedly regarded as the unit of account; and, with this class, it would, of course, continue to be the unit. So that, in reality, to hamper the question of the introduction of a decimal system by an attempt at bringing all people to regard monies in the same way, and to reckon monies in the same manner, is to oppose a greater obstacle to the introduction of a decimal system than any of the really practical obstacles with which we shall have to deal.

The unit of coinage or currency is the only point really required to be settled. 'The pound sterling is represented by a gold coin called a *sovereign*, which consists of 123·274 grains of *standard* gold, being 11-12ths, or 113·001 grains of *pure* gold, and 1-12th, or 10·273 grains of alloy.' This sovereign is the unit of coinage or currency under the present system; and, as has been shown above, it must be retained at its present value.

The proposed monies of account are the sovereign, florin, cent, and mil. The money of estimation, if indeed there is any, is the sovereign, and still will be. The monies of coinage have yet to be dealt with. Before proceeding to speak of these, or rather of what number of coins should be issued, it will be advisable to refer to the testimony bearing on this point delivered before the select committee of the House of Commons. Sir J. Herschel says, 'If you wish to introduce a *new* system, you must do away with *everything* that may be considered an *obstacle* to it; the object will be to *efface* old recollections.' The evidence of Messrs. Hankey, Airy, Bevan, Bennoch, Arbuthnot, goes to show, that the smaller the number of coins with which it is practicable to effect purchases and exchanges, the better.

There are two proposals, then, with regard to the coins to be issued. The one is, that these coins should not be in a decimal relation the one to the other; the other is, that these coins should be in a decimal relation each to each. The first is called the

non-strictly decimal system; the second, the *strictly decimal system*. The non-strictly decimal system occurs under two aspects. There are at present in circulation two widely different penny pieces—one bearing date 1797, and being larger and made of purer metal; the others, issued at different dates, smaller, and of metal less pure. The two parties adhering to the non-strictly decimal system, differ in this, that the one propose raising the penny of 1797 in value, at the same time depreciating all other copper money; and that the other propose depreciating alike all copper money. As no two persons of these parties agree as to what coins shall be adopted, a general table of the coins comprised in their schemes is all that can be given.

TABLE OF COINS PROPOSED UNDER THE NON-STRICTLY DECIMAL SYSTEM.

<i>Copper.</i>	The Mil	$\frac{1}{1000}$ of £1, or	1 Mil,	$\frac{1}{1000}$ of a penny.
	Double Mil.....	$\frac{2}{1000}$	2 ..	$\frac{2}{1000}$ "
	Four Mil.....	$\frac{4}{1000}$	4 ..	$\frac{4}{1000}$ "
	Half Cent*.....	$\frac{5}{1000}$	5 ..	$\frac{5}{1000}$ "
<i>Silver.</i>	Cent	$\frac{1}{100}$	10 ..	$\frac{10}{100}$ "
	Double Cent ...	$\frac{2}{100}$	20 ..	$\frac{20}{100}$ "
	Sixpence.....	$\frac{1}{40}$	25 ..	6 "
	Shilling	$\frac{1}{20}$	50 ..	1 shilling.
	Florin	$\frac{1}{10}$	100 ..	2 shillings.
	Half Crown ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	125 ..	2 shillings and sixpence.
	Double Florin...	$\frac{1}{5}$	200 ..	4 shillings.
<i>Gold.</i>	Crown.....	$\frac{1}{4}$	250 ..	5 "
	Half Sovereign.	$\frac{1}{2}$	500 ..	10 "
	Sovereign	£1	1000 ..	20 "

The characteristic feature of the system advocated by the first party is, that the penny of 1797 should be reckoned as a 5 mil piece. They propose, consequently, that five of these shall make sixpence, and, as a deduction from the general proposal of the depreciation of the other copper coinage, that six of any other penny shall *not* make sixpence. If we understand L to represent the penny of 1797, and S to represent any other pence, we have the following table:—

5 L	make sixpence.
4 L and 2 S	make more than sixpence.
3 L and 3 S	" "
2 L and 4 S	" "
1 L and 5 S	make sixpence.
6 S	make less than sixpence.

Now, on what conceivable principle can this tend to simplify the introduction of the decimal system? Would not such a

* The 5 mil piece by one party, the penny of 1797; the 5 mil piece by the other, a new coin.

measure create unutterable confusion? Would not such a measure leave the poor man at the mercy of the tradesman? Most assuredly it would, is the only true answer to each of these questions. But, apparently, the holders of copper would gain; the pennies dated 1797 constitute one-fifth of the total copper circulation. If, then, by such a change, the people gain, it is evident that there must be a loss somewhere. This loss must necessarily fall on government; and, consequently, in the end, there will be no gain to the people, as they have to supply the deficiency or loss to government. But the idea of making one penny differ from another in value, is too preposterous to be seriously entertained, and requires merely to be fully stated in its true bearings to become the subject of laughter.

The proposal of the second party is one more likely to be carried out; and, indeed, there are some points in it which would at first view seem to make it most desirable that it should be adopted. This party propose to retain twelve or thirteen coins. It must be remarked, however, that no two persons agree as to which coins shall be retained, and that the least number proposed by any, is nine coins. The half-sovereign is the coin of greatest value proposed to be retained in the *non-strictly decimal system*.

‘When you come to gold coins less than a sovereign, the expense of coinage is increased, and also the relative wear and tear? It is; and that in a high ratio, in proportion to the small value of the coin, by the fact of its being constantly in use.’—*Sir J. Herschel*.

‘We are not aware that any distinct experiments were made to determine the diminution in the weight of coins by abrasion until the year 1787, when the officers of the mint investigated the average state of the silver coins at that time. According to these experiments it appeared that

			As issued from the Mint.
12 $\frac{8}{10}$ crowns	} were requisite to	{	12 $\frac{4}{10}$ crowns.
or 27 half-crowns			24 $\frac{8}{10}$ half-crowns
or 78 $\frac{1}{10}$ shillings			62 shillings
or 194 $\frac{6}{10}$ sixpences			124 sixpences

‘These coins were allowed to run the average career of the silver coinage for the next eleven years, and were then, in 1798, again examined. It was found that the weights had been still further diminished, particularly in the smaller coins, insomuch that

12 $\frac{33}{40}$ crowns	} were required to make up	{	a pound troy, instead of
or 27 $\frac{21}{40}$ half-crowns			
or 82 $\frac{9}{40}$ shillings			
or 200 $\frac{37}{40}$ sixpences			

‘It was thus shown that in eleven years the coins had suffered, in round numbers, the following loss:—Crowns, 1-5th per cent.; half-crowns, 2 per cent.; shillings, 5 per cent.; and sixpences, 3 per cent.; while the whole diminution, from the time of coinage, amounted to—

crowns, 3 per cent.; half-crowns, 10 per cent.; shillings, 24 per cent.; sixpences, 38 per cent.*

It may be reckoned, however, by taking into consideration the greater expense of coining small coins, their loss by abrasion, and the time spent in coining and recoinng half-sovereigns, that the expense of them to the community is from twelve to fifteen times as much (some persons reckon it as twenty-four or twenty-five times as much as that of the sovereign). For such reasons, the half-sovereign ought to be abolished. The crown is now very little used, and, consequently, needs not be retained. The place of the half-crown is virtually supplied by the florin; the shilling and the sixpence, if retained, would prevent 'old recollections from being effaced'; the 5 mil, 4 mil, 2 mil pieces, would have the same tendency, and would prevent our reducing the number of coins required to the lowest limit—viz., pounds, florins, cents, mils.

By a careful study of our historical sketch, it will be found that the great dread to be entertained is, lest there should fail to be a sufficiency of small coin; that, at one time, the monies of account exceeded the monies of coinage in number, and that, when the number of monies of coinage greatly exceeded the number of monies of account, they were reduced in number, so much so, that, even now, we only boast of two gold pieces, there being at the time of the Restoration as many as fifty-nine.

But, again, by adopting this second system there would be a loss of four per cent. to the holders of copper coin; a loss that would not be supplied by any one. The gain would not be to the people as a mass, but entirely to some few tradesmen. Moreover, the inconvenience of such a measure would be only really felt by the poor, as is evident from an example: A has to pay B $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., and pays him 14 mils; here the loss is on the whole sum; but, if A has to pay B 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., and pays him 64 mils, the loss is not on the shilling at all, for which B receives its full equivalent, 50 mils; the loss is only on the $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., and, consequently, the loss must be greater on the $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. than on the 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. The loss on every farthing under 6d. is $\frac{1}{25}$ th of a farthing; so that on $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. it is $\frac{14}{25}$ ths of a farthing; were this loss continued on bigger sums, the loss on 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. would be $\frac{62}{25}$ ths of a farthing, or 2 farthings and $\frac{12}{25}$ ths; but the actual loss is only $\frac{14}{25}$ ths: so that the larger the sum of money is in which farthings and pence occur, the smaller is the loss proportionally. Thus the non-strictly decimal system has been shown to be encumbered with considerable disadvantages; the strictly decimal system will be seen to avoid all these disadvantages, *but yet there remains one part or question to be decided.* The strictly

* Penny Magazine, vol. ii.

decimal system comprises only four coins, the sovereign, the florin, the cent, the mil. It has as few coins as possible, and not one which offers any obstacle to the introduction of the system. It, moreover, does away with the tendency to error arising from the similarity between half-sovereigns, sixpences, fourpenny-bits, and threepenny-bits; between sovereigns, shillings, and farthings; and, at the same time, dispenses with the cumbrous coins called crown, half-crown, and penny. Under it, no child will have to be taught that six pennies make sixpence, or that twenty-five mils make sixpence. All will go by tens, and this lesson will be implanted in the very first stage of arithmetic. It may be said, that we have real need of more coins; let this be fairly shown (which, in truth, it cannot be), and the supporters of a strictly decimal system of coinage, or rather of coins, will yield. At all events, it would be but fair to give the strictly decimal system a chance, for it opposes no obstacle to the introduction, if needed, of other coins: whereas, by commencing with the non-strictly decimal system, the old prejudice of a great number of coins would be retained; and, should an attempt be afterwards made to introduce a strictly decimal system, it would be found the more firmly rooted the older it grew.

The Report of the Select Committee states, that there are two obstacles to the introduction of the decimal system. 'The first arises from the difficulty which is always found to exist in inducing the mass of the population to depart from standards with which they are familiar, and from modes of calculation to the defects of which usage has reconciled them.' This obstacle is truly a *simple* one. The fact is, that the people generally are desirous of the adoption of decimal coinage; in attestation of which, 'the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce sent a memorial to the Board of Trade recommending the adoption of the system;' 'the Manchester Chamber of Commerce presented a petition to government in favour of decimal coinage, weights, and measures;' and, lastly, several deputations from the City of London have recently urged the subject upon the attention of her Majesty's ministers. From the tone adopted by the ministers, it appears that the public are not considered by them as hitherto sufficiently aware of the principles of the decimal system; but that the moment they shall be strenuously urged to the adoption of a decimal system, by petitions or otherwise, they are prepared to adopt it. Now, the tendency of such a change as the one proposed, may be best seen by noticing instances in which a similar one has already taken place. The changes in America, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, may be regarded as three out of many instances. The American change was from pounds, shillings, and pence, to dollars and cents; the dollars were at first of

different value in different states, and were made of one value in 1792. The changes in Ireland took place in 1809, and in 1826. In 1809, from gold to notes ; in 1826, the shilling was changed from 13d. to 12d. The change in the Isle of Man was from the little to the big shilling.

Now, why should England be worse adapted to the introduction of such a system than countries far inferior to it in point of civilization? The people, as a rule, cannot be deemed worse arithmeticians—when it is considered that boys educated at charity-schools become men of importance in the *City*,—when it is found that many men have been the successful architects of their own fortunes, who in the questionable language of the day are sprung from nobody, and have received, in many instances, no education.

‘The second obstacle arises from the necessity of re-arranging the terms of all pecuniary obligations, depending either on legal enactment or private contract, expressed in those coins, which, in the event of a change in our monetary system, would cease to have legal currency.’ All the difficulties which this *compound* obstacle presents are essentially practical, and must of necessity be settled, not by government, but by bodies of men adapted, from the positions they occupy in the world, to deprive such obstacles of any real force.

The Custom Duties present the first practical obstacle. Now, seeing that each class of goods is at present dealt with separately, and that the duty levied depends to some extent on the port whence the article comes, as well as on the value of the goods themselves, a distinct law must be made for each separate series of cases. The most important of these, however, are those which are at present levied at so much per lb. The duty per lb. on some articles is now a fraction of a penny ; but from this it is not to be understood, that a peculiar currency of fractional coins is in use at the Custom-house. Large quantities of these articles are taxed at once ; so that, in the aggregate, a sum of money, and not a fractional part of a penny, is the visible form of the duty. Now, if any year’s amount of duties levied in this manner from a specified class of goods were divided by the number of lbs. that the whole class contains, and this, instead of being put in the form of a fraction of a penny, were expressed as the decimal of a pound, it is manifest that no loss whatever would accrue to the Customs, since any required amount of accuracy may be obtained by means of decimal arithmetic.

The next in alphabetical order of these imaginary obstacles is the Income-tax. Now, 7 pence in the pound is a *little* less than 3 per cent., and 7 pence, 1 farthing, is *still less* greater than 3 per cent. An income-tax of exactly 3 per cent. would increase

the revenue of the country, so far as it is derived from this source, would scarcely be felt by any person separately, and would tend much to the simplification of the duties of an income-tax collector. Under the decimal system, it would be $\cdot 03$ in the pound, and would thus be a mere matter of multiplication by the number of pounds; whereas, at present, 7d. has to be multiplied by the number of pounds, and the result divided first by 12 and then by 20. For instance, for an income of £169, the calculation by each system is thus:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 169 \\ 7 \\ \hline 12)1183 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 20)98-7 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 4-18-7 \end{array}$$

Or the tax is £4 18s. 7d.

$$\begin{array}{r} 169 \\ \cdot 03 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 5\cdot 07 \end{array}$$

Or the tax is £5 0fl. 7c.

The difference being 2s. 9½d. in favour of the revenue.

The next three obstacles form one group—viz., Newspaper Stamps, Postage Stamps, and Receipt Stamps. Newspaper Stamps might be dealt with in the following manner—the object, observe, being to point out a method by which the revenue of the country would not, in any material way, be altered. The evidence with regard to Postage Stamps is very conflicting. Mr. Rowland Hill states, that the community would not stand paying 5 mils; and Mr. Bevan says, that the payment of 5 mils would be no hardship on the community. Mr. Rowland Hill estimates the loss to the Post-office, by making the stamp 4 mils, at £100,000,—a loss that must be considered serious, there being at present deficiency enough in the postal revenue. A better method cannot be conceived of meeting this emergency than combining the two Stamps, Newspaper and Postage, making the newspaper pay 5 mils and letters only 4 mils, since it renders the tax more simple, and at the same time more just. Receipt Stamps might be raised, without the public taking alarm, to 5 mils; since, at present, we all know, they are paid for between the giver and the receiver.

The payment of the Troops opposes the next obstacle to the bringing in of a decimal coinage. If the present system of payment were continued, no inconvenience would arise; but the method is clumsy, and unworthy of our administration. If government wishes to pay by the day, let it pay by the day, and do not let soldiers draw the best part of a month's pay in advance. The payment by the day is the most satisfactory method; but how, under the decimal system, is this to come about? In this way. The pay of a soldier is 11d. a-day, or very nearly 46 mils—

in fact, it is $45\frac{5}{8}$ mils. If, then, for the six working days, the soldier were paid 46 mils, and for Sunday only 45 mils, he would be the gainer of $\frac{1}{8}$ mil per week, or not quite 9 mils in the year. He would, doubtless, be satisfied; and the small extra draw on the public would be imperceptible.

The next obstacle is the Railways. There was a proposal to establish a railway to run for a halfpenny a mile; a proposal which, had it been carried into effect, would have paid. Whoever heard of an excursion train not paying? and yet they carry passengers double the distance for less than a single fare. There is no doubt that 4 mils per mile would amply satisfy this demand.

The last and the most deceptive of all these obstacles, is that of Tolls and Ferries. These are let and under-let in many cases by public auction; and that they would be so let still, were government to revise the tolls, there is not the slightest doubt. The object of a toll is to keep the road in repair; and, so long as this is done, the end is answered. That a reduction of 4 per cent. could be made, I have no hesitation in saying; for the contract for a toll goes through a great many hands, all of whom derive some profit from it. Ferries might be dealt with in the same way; and, in fact, ought to be so; for who ever heard of private interest standing in the way of public good?

These suggestions show that all the dreaded obstacles can be surmounted, with direct advantage to the revenue and to the public. It has been shown, that no alteration whatever in the amount of the custom duties need be made except in this one point, that, by the necessary diminution of labour, a smaller staff of officers would be required, and a consequent increase in revenue would be derived. It has been shown, that the slight augmentation of the income-tax would be such as to be imperceptible to each person, while it would materially increase the revenue, the rate of increase being 2·84 per cent., or very nearly 3 per cent. on the present amount. It has been shown, that at any rate no loss, but rather a slight gain, may be made, by adopting the suggestion with regard to the newspaper, postage, and receipt stamps; that, more especially, an increase of 20 per cent. in the revenue derived from the receipt stamps would result, without any inconvenience to the public, while it would be considerably more convenient to calculate the proceeds by 5 mils than by 1 penny; that, in common justice, the postage on a letter should be less than the postage on a paper; and that, these two being combined, the revenue derivable from these sources would not be reduced. It has been shown, that the payment of soldiers could be carried on more precisely by the new method, with indeed a very slight increase of their pay. And, lastly, it has been shown, that, by the adoption of the plan, with regard to tolls and ferries, from which

but a small class of the community now derive an income, a great benefit would accrue to the masses, with no detriment necessarily to the roads. The proposal, on this last point, made by the committee, no body of people could adopt without much discontent—viz., that the loss to the owners of tolls, caused by the reduction of a farthing to a mil, should be made up to them by sanctioning a small increase in those charges for a limited period ; or, to put it in plain words, that the present generation should pay for a benefit the next is to enjoy!

How, then, is the adoption of this beneficial system to be brought about? It must be borne in mind that there are of half-crowns 37,000,000 in circulation, and that the change proposed would necessitate a coinage of 700,000,000 pieces. It has been suggested that the Post-office (as a government office) should receive the old coin without passing it again into circulation. To this may be added, that the old money, after the lapse, say of one year, should be current only in payment of taxes. The first step should be an anticipatory one, and should consist in familiarizing the public with the ideas and denominations of the system. This may be done by teachers in schools (for which purpose a decimal arithmetic would be required), by lectures to literary and scientific institutions, and generally by speaking of it familiarly. There is no doubt, however, that were parliament to order the issuing of a small number of cents and mils, these coins would attract more attention to the system than anything else that can be done.

It is computed that more than 400,000,000 of the human race already adopt the decimal system; and when it is considered that there must at one time have been some change made in order to obtain the decimal system, the following statement becomes almost incredible:—‘Your committee are not aware of any instance in which a country, after adopting the decimal system, has abandoned it.’ And why should the English nation alone be unable to overcome their past prejudices, and obtain the immense benefits of such a system? Once established, let us be assured, it would never again be changed. The common people would be able to work any arithmetical question; the shopkeeper would more easily calculate his interest; the public accounts would be better kept; and all kinds of business would be done more expeditiously. Last of all, form societies for its adoption, agitate the question, and petition for it.

Hitherto the decimal system has been regarded so far only as it concerns the question of accounts and coinage. The more difficult and more important question is the proposed change in the system of weights and measures. First of all, it is necessary to give the definition of the present standard of each particular class of weights and measures. ‘Now, the length of a pendulum vibrating seconds, or performing 86,400 oscillations in the interval

between the sun's leaving the meridian of a place and returning to it again, is always the same at a fixed place and under the same circumstances.* If this length be measured at Greenwich at the level of the sea in a non-resisting medium, and be divided into 391,392 equal parts, the yard is *defined* to be equivalent to 360,000 of these parts. The standard square and cubic measures depend entirely on this. The imperial gallon is the standard unit of the measure of capacity, and is defined to be 277·274 cubic inches. The imperial bushel is the standard unit of dry measure, and is defined to be 2815·4887 cubic inches. The form of the measure is to be an upright cylinder, whose diameter is not less than twice its depth, and the height of the conical heap must be at least three-fourths of the depth. The imperial pound avoirdupois is defined to be the weight of 27·7274 cubic inches of distilled water, ascertained at a time when the barometer stands at 30, and the height of Fahrenheit's thermometer is 62. The imperial pound troy is defined to be 12 parts called ounces, of which the imperial pound avoirdupois contains 16. The unit of angular measure is defined to be 1 part called a degree, of which the right angle contains 90. The interval of time between two passages of the sun across the meridian of any place is termed a day. As to the amount of complication in each of the *tables*, that is too well known to need being dwelt upon.

Now, it is necessary to determine what classes of persons will have to be considered in relation to each table. As to the table of lineal measure, drapers and woollen merchants measure by yards; artificers measure by feet, and duodecimal subdivisions thereof; gaugers make use of the inch for taking all dimensions; land surveyors make use of a chain of 22 yards long; a square rod of $272\frac{1}{2}$ square feet is used in estimating bricklayer's work; a load of rough timber is 40 cubic feet; a ton of shipping is 42 cubic feet; publicans make use of gills, pints, and quarts; brewers of gallons; wine merchants of pipes, &c.

In each of these instances, however, it will be necessary that some agreement be made by the classes concerned, in order to obtain a decimal system of weights and measures. To adopt the French system, with its hard names, would be un-English, and also the lineal standard would have to be rectified by sending to Paris. It will, however, be beneficial that all dry goods be sold by weight. An instance of this kind of change has occurred in the present century. Coals were at the commencement sold by measure; they are now almost universally sold by weight.

The most convenient length for measurement is the yard; the chain might be made to contain 100 yards; the mile might be reckoned as its name implies—1000 yards. Square yards will

* Hind's Arithmetic.

consequently be the standard of superficies, and an acre (4840 square yards) will have to be given up. Cubic yards will be the standard of solidity. The gallon will be the unit of capacity, and a measure nearly equivalent to our half-pint will be one-tenth of a gallon. The ounce will be the unit of weight, and it, and it alone, will bring together avoirdupois and troy weight. The day will be the measure of time, and will be decimally subdivided. The right angle will be the unit of angularity, and will also be decimally subdivided.

The evidence in favour of this system is, of course, very similar to that given with regard to coinage. But, in support of such a change, we may refer to Portugal as one instance, and to France as another, and it will be found that no inconvenience of any account has occurred. The Bank of England has already adopted the decimal system of weights and measures in the purchase and sale of bullion, and also in assaying. At the Custom-house there is a scale, which has long been acted upon, of decimal subdivision of the pound avoirdupois, proceeding to the 1000th part of the pound. In calculating the tare, where a proportion must be used, it was found so *utterly* impracticable to do it by the common subdivision of the avoirdupois pound, that the officers were driven to decimals. It would be quite impossible to weigh some of the things brought to the Custom-house except by such a division.

The Master of the Mint, Sir J. Herschel, is convinced of the advantages of the system at the Bank, and has announced his intention of introducing it into the Mint as soon as possible. It may here be remarked that this system of weights and measures ought to be introduced into the Mint previously to the issuing of decimal coins. Finally, the decimal system of weights and measures is already in use by many private firms.

The almost unanimous testimony of the witnesses examined is, that a system of weights and measures, in conjunction with decimal coinage, would afford great facilities in calculation. The two changes combined would make a difference of at least one-half in all calculations in which they occur together. The great question is, how shall it be introduced? whether contemporaneously or not with the decimal coinage? It is answered, that the two changes should take place together, and that they should be made as soon as possible. In the meantime, any who put forward their own views on the decimal system, whether in conversation or by means of the press, will be conferring a vast benefit on society at large; for on these processes, simple as they are, is in a great degree contingent the adoption of a system which would greatly facilitate the mercantile transactions of this wealthy, industrious, and teeming population.

Brief Notices.

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The Last Fruit off an Old Tree. By Walter Savage Landor.
London: Moxon. 1853.

ONE can hardly take up a book having such a title without large expectations, and at the same time a melancholy sort of feeling. The octogenarian author of five volumes of imaginary conversations, and not a few tragedies and poems—published some three years since, with his last corrections, in two volumes—has sent it forth ‘on the behalf and for the sole emolument of the Madiai.’ ‘A great part of the prose,’ he says, in his preface, ‘bears a reference to those persons, and that system under which the Madiai were deprived of freedom, of health, of air, and, what is also a necessary to life, the consolation of friendship, their crime being the worship of God, as God himself commanded, and not as man commands.’ The volume comprises eighteen imaginary conversations between Tiziano Vecelli and Luigi Cornaro; Leonaro di Este and Father Panigarola; Admiral Blake and Humphrey Blake; Louis Philippe and M. Guizot; M. Thiers and M. Lamartine; Nicholas, Frederick William, Nesselrode; Nicholas and Nesselrode. (First Conversation); Beranger and La Roche-Jaquelin; King Carlo-Alberto and Princess Belgioiso; Garribaldi and Mazzini; Cardinal Antonelli and General Gemeau. (First Conversation) . . . (Second Conversation); Louis Bonaparte and Count Molé; Pope Pio Nono and Cardinal Antonelli; Martin and Jack; Archdeacon Hare and Walter Landor; Nicholas and Nesselrode. (Second Conversation); Archbishop of Florence and Francesco Madiai. After these conversations, extending to a hundred and thirty-four pages, we have nineteen chapters of clever satire on the celebrities of England and Rome, entitled ‘Popery, British and Foreign,’ referring to the papal aggression of 1850; ten letters full of ingenious and deep sarcasm addressed to his eminence the Cardinal Wiseman, by a true believer; three elaborate reviews of the Idyls of Theocritus; the poems of Catullus and Francesco Petrarcha; a letter to Lord Brougham on the neglect of Southey; Remarks on Pensions and Academies; Sir Robert Peel and Monuments to Public Men; and Inscription for a Statue at St. Ives.

The remaining papers, of unequal length, are on Shakespeare’s house; the proposed new National Gallery (in which he points out Kensington Palace as the best place); Epitaph on Lady Blessington; To the

Reverend Charles Cuthbert Southey, on his Father's Character and Public Services; Anecdote of Lord Chancellor Thurlow; the Quarterly Review; the Benefits of Parliament; Colonization, and by whom promoted; Tranquillity in Europe; What we Have and what we Owe; Capital Punishment; a Deacon and Curate to Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter; Petition to Parliament from a Brotherhood of Ancient Britons; Petition of the Thugs for Toleration; The Schoolmaster of the North; and the True Character of Sir Charles James Napier, 'the great historian of English victories, the most eloquent, the most truthful!' The 'Poems' consist of 'Epigrams,' one hundred and sixty-six; 'Various,' one hundred and six; and 'Five Scenes' of a tragedy on Cenci and Beatrice, which strike us as exhibiting great power, even when set side by side with Shelley's noble tragedy on the same subject.

Miscellaneous as these 'Fruits' are, they contain the fine juices of the 'Old Tree,' which we advise our readers to taste, and judge for themselves. The beneficent purpose to which they are devoted will consecrate them in the eyes of many—if such there be—who have not had the felicity of enjoying the earlier productions of one of the richest, most vigorous, and most original of English writers.

The Catholic History of England. By William Bernard MacCabe.
Vol. III. Svo. pp. 891. London: T. C. Newby.

THE former volumes of this history were published in 1847 and 1849, and in noticing them we freely expressed our judgment on the principle of their construction, and our estimate of their worth. It must be borne in mind, that the character of Mr. MacCabe's history is distinct from that of all preceding ones. He has endeavored, 'by uniting the writings of the monkish historians, and by placing them in chronological order, to give a narrative of bygone events in the very words of the original writers, and unmixed with the opinions of any modern author.' How far this plan is preferable to that which has been generally pursued, may be fairly questioned. Mr. MacCabe takes the affirmative, and acts accordingly. We, however, are inclined to adopt the opposite conclusion, for we see no reason why the intelligence and larger knowledge, and growing experience, and greater freedom from superstition, which characterize this century, should not be brought to bear upon the narratives of a former age. We do not say that such narratives are necessarily inaccurate, but we do maintain, that the experience and judgment of the nineteenth century may be advantageously employed in sifting the materials, and in measuring the worth of the records of a less enlightened period. We are not, therefore, prepared to admit that the history of England, as written by our ancient annalists and chroniclers, is certainly superior in accuracy to the narratives furnished by modern authors. As witnesses of the transactions recorded, our chroniclers are doubtless entitled to attention, and there is frequently a freshness and reality in their narratives which is not met with elsewhere. They are unquestionably, as our author alleges, 'beyond the sphere of those motives by which but too many of our modern writers have been prompted to make the materials of our annals subservient to the prejudices of parties.' All this we freely

admit, but what then? Simply this, that the writers in question are free from the misguiding influences of the present day. On this fact there cannot, of course, be any doubt. The important question, however, and indeed the only pertinent one, is, were not the sinister influences of their own day more numerous and potent than those to which an upright historian is now subjected? The means of information possessed by the latter are undoubtedly far greater, the canons of historical composition are much better understood, and the legitimate province of the religious is much more accurately distinguished from that of the political. But this is too large a question to be argued now. We content ourselves with a brief indication of our judgment, and proceed to acquaint our readers with the nature of Mr. MacCabe's work.

The volume before us, which is the third, concludes the Anglo-Saxon annals of England, composed on the principle already stated. 'I have endeavored,' says the author, 'to make known what the old monastic writers knew of Anglo-Saxon history, and to illustrate what they had written to the best of my ability.' The three volumes now published are only a portion of a larger work which the author originally contemplated, but more urgent though uncongenial tasks preclude the working out of his plan. We regret this on many accounts, principally because the extensive research and obvious earnestness of the writer eminently qualify him to do justice to his theme. We take the volumes, however, as they are, and though differing so vastly from the writer, we recommend their perusal. We have seen so much of the evils which result from a narrow and sectional judgment, that we strongly recommend our friends to possess themselves of the views of other parties than their own. Our inquiries cannot be too wide, nor our researches too diversified, for the purposes of truth. A large-minded knowledge will be found most conducive to a bracing and manly tone of sentiment. In the perusal of Mr. MacCabe's volumes we have specially noted two things. The church is confounded with Christianity, and the observance of its forms, and the advancement of its secular interests, are therefore deemed good evidences of piety. In the second place, miraculous powers are supposed to be in constant exercise, sometimes in very ridiculous forms, and often on the most insignificant occasions. How an intelligent man can give credit to the legends here related is a marvel, and the study of our author's volumes has therefore been a lesson in mental philosophy, as well as a corrective of some of our prepossessions. We advise our readers to combine the perusal of these volumes with those of Hallam, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Godwin, and others, if he would obtain a clear and consistent view of our deeply interesting annals.

A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company, and of the Native States on the Continent of India. Compiled by the authority of the Hon. Court of Directors, and chiefly from documents in their possession. By Edward Thornton, Esq. In Four Volumes. Svo. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

MR. THORNTON is well known as the author of a 'History of the British Empire in India,' and the present work places beyond doubt

his vast knowledge on Indian affairs, and the authority with which he is entitled to speak on all matters pertaining to them. It is the first work which has ever aspired to a character of completeness in its particular line, and must long remain an invaluable book of reference to those who are desirous of obtaining full and accurate information on Indian subjects. Such a work could not have been prepared without the patronage of the Court of Directors, and we are glad to be informed that the vast mass of records in the archives of the Company have been placed at Mr. Thornton's disposal. Of the labor devoted to the examination of these records 'it would be difficult to speak, without, on the one hand, appearing to indulge in exaggeration; or, on the other, actually underrating it.' The great number of places to be treated of has necessarily imposed much brevity on the author, whose descriptions, however, are sufficiently extended for all the purposes of sound and useful information. The geographical portion of the work has been benefited by the corrections recently established by scientific observations; while the constant accumulation of statistical facts, which has been proceeding for some years past, has enabled the author to render his work as accurate as it is voluminous. Mr. Thornton has wisely adopted the orthography observed in the official documents of the East India Company. On the whole, we have never met with a work more completely answering to its title, or better adapted to all the purposes of reference. So far as we have examined its contents, they are indicative of vast and accurate research. To so large an extent, indeed, is this the case, that competition is out of the question. There is no other work which admits of comparison with it. It stands alone, as a complete gazetteer, on its chosen ground, and must have a place in every library which assumes to furnish information on the territories and people of our Indian empire. The nature of the work precludes extracts, and we must therefore be content to assure our readers that they may readily obtain from its well-digested statements whatever is needful for perfecting their knowledge, or for discharging their duties towards our Indian fellow-subjects.

The Tricolor on the Atlas; or, Algeria and the French Conquest.

From the German of Dr. Wagner, and other sources, by Francis Pulszky, Esq. Crown 8vo. pp. 402. London: T. Nelson & Sons.

THIS volume belongs to 'Nelson's Modern Library,' of which the two former volumes have been noticed by us. It constitutes a valuable and interesting addition to our modern historical literature. Little is known by our countrymen of the proceedings of the French in Algeria. We have occasionally heard of the atrocities practised by their soldiery, and have witnessed nearer home the demoralizing effects of the warfare in which they have engaged. The fate of the Arabian Emir, Abd-el-Kader, has also awakened our deep sympathy, as it certainly attaches to the government of Louis Philippe a charge of perfidy which no plea of state necessity can efface. Beyond these obvious facts little knowledge is possessed, and Mr. Pulszky has therefore discharged a very acceptable service in preparing this volume for publication. It is mainly founded on the work of Dr. Moritz Wagner, who resided for

three years in the Regency of Algeria, and published the result of his observations in 1841. 'I have condensed,' says Mr. Pulszky, 'his first volume, translated his second, added an account of later events, from the capture of Constantine to the surrender of Abd-el-Kader, and given a general view of the present state of the French possessions on the north coast of Africa.' Mr. Pulszky has executed his task with signal skill, and his volume is, in consequence, one of the most readable books which has fallen in our way for a long time past. It supplies a large mass of very valuable information on the history and present condition of the northern coast of Africa. The divisions of its people, their habits and modes of life, with the natural productions of the country, and the political changes which have occurred, are described with much vivacity and skill. The volume, however, as its title denotes, is principally devoted to the history of French colonization, and the lessons which this history teaches are of terrible significance. The future benefits of French supremacy must be very great to compensate for the evils which have been inflicted.

The Lady Una and her Queendom; or, Reform at the Right End.
By the Author of 'Home Truths for Home Peace.' Fcap. 8vo.
pp. 396. London: Longman & Co.

THE only fault we have to find with this volume is, that it is not like anything on earth. The characters sketched are too perfect, and the scene drawn is such as may suit Utopia, but does not belong to the real world. We should be glad to indulge the belief that such personages as Lady Una, Lord Wellsford, Mr. Singleton, and Eric Morton are to be met with; but not having had the pleasure of falling in with them ourselves, nor of having heard them described from personal observation by others, we are compelled to conclude that they are creatures of the imagination,—mere fancy sketches, rather than the embodiment of qualities to be found in any of the inhabitants of this prosaic world. It must not, however, be supposed from what we say that this volume is unattractive, and may not be useful. The reverse is the fact. It displays qualities of a highly respectable order, and the scenes which it paints, though too bright for earth, are on that very account possessed of an elevating and purifying power. The whole tone and spirit of the volume are eminently Christianlike.

The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart, Esq., F.R.S.S. Edited by
Sir Wm. Hamilton, Bart. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 424. Edinburgh:
Thomas Constable & Co.

THIS volume, constituting the third of the collected works of Professor Stewart, is the second of 'Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind,' the first of which was noticed last month. We content ourselves with simply noting the fact of its publication, and reserve our analysis of the genius and writings of the author until the appearance of the 'Biographical Memoir' which the editor is to supply. The edition constitutes one of the most handsome publications of the day.

The Autobiography of William Jerdan, with his Literary, Political, and Social Reminiscences and Correspondence during the last Fifty Years. Post 8vo. pp. 420. Vol. IV. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co. The completion of an Autobiography somewhat querulous and too self-complacent, yet containing a large fund of literary gossip, no inconsiderable portion of which is worthy of preservation.—*Mormonism.* pp. 112. London: Longman & Co. This reprint from the 'Edinburgh Review,' forming the sixty-seventh part of the 'Travellers' Library,' is the best *resumé* of the history and doctrines of Mormonism which has been given to the public. We strongly recommend it to those of our readers who are solicitous to acquaint themselves with the rise and fortunes of this strange sect.—*Select Works of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* Edited by his Son-in-law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Vol. I. Post 8vo. pp. 528. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co. We are not surprised to find that the cheap edition of Dr. Chalmers's 'Life' has been eminently successful. We are glad it is so, and are still more pleased to find that the publishers are encouraged to adopt a similar plan with several of his works. Such of them as are best fitted for general circulation are to be brought out in quarterly volumes, and in monthly parts. We are glad to learn that in no instance will abridgment be attempted. To this the Editor pledges himself, and in doing so he evinces becoming respect to the deceased, and due regard to the interests of the living. The volume before us is the first of the series, and comprises the 'Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans,' extending to the ninth verse of the eighth chapter. We need say nothing in commendation of the enterprise. It will be widely and heartily welcomed, and has our best wishes.—*Milton's Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained, with Explanatory Notes.* By the Rev. J. Edmonston. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 468. London: T. Nelson & Sons. A neat and portable edition of an English classic, with numerous explanatory notes, partly selected from previous commentators, and partly written by the Editor. These notes are brief and sensible, explaining what might be otherwise obscure, and solving difficulties which the unlearned reader might vainly essay to master.—*The Library of Biblical Literature, being a Repository of Information on Geographical, Historical, Scientific, Archaeological, and Literary Subjects in Relation to the Sacred Scriptures.* Vol. I. This volume contains eight tracts on Biblical subjects of considerable interest. These tracts are written in an interesting style; they evince a very creditable measure of acquaintance with the writers of Oriental travels, and of familiarity with the geographical features of the East, and are admirably adapted to popularize the themes of which they treat. They were published separately at a low price, and we regret that a short preface is not given with this volume, stating the order of publication, and the terms on which it may be obtained. The work merits liberal support.—*Popish Practices at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.* By Charles Westerton. Fourth Edition. To which is added, the Reply to the Adjudication of the Bishop of London. London: Westerton's Library. A valuable collection of the documents which have been issued in connexion with the Puseyite proceedings of

the Hon. and Rev. R. Liddell at St. Paul's Church. Such a publication, while prompted by the controversy of the day, possesses a permanent interest as a book of reference, and as such we recommend it.—*The Mosaic Record in Harmony with the Geological*. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co. A valuable contribution to a deeply interesting and confessedly difficult subject. 'If,' says the author, 'a reconciliation between the statements of the Bible and the discoveries of science be possible, it can only be effected by strictly adhering to Moses' own definition of words, and by fairly meeting the facts of geology.' His dissertation is written on this principle, and merits the attentive consideration of Biblical students. The writer differs on some material points from Dr. Pye Smith and others, and without pledging ourselves to the adoption of his views, we cordially commend them to the examination of our readers.—*Sermons on National Subjects*. By Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley. Second Series. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 339. London and Glasgow: Griffin & Co. The reception given to the former series of his 'National Sermons,' has emboldened Mr. Kingsley to publish the present volume, which contains twenty-five short sermons on various topics of considerable interest. It is impossible that Mr. Kingsley should publish anything which does not merit respectable attention. There is much acuteness, healthful feeling, and sound morals throughout the volume, but the theology is, in our judgment, defective. The great ends of the Christian pastorate can never be accomplished by so meagre an exhibition of the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel.

Review of the Month.

THE TERRIBLE MALADY WITH WHICH IT HAS PLEASED DIVINE PROVIDENCE recently to visit us is slowly but steadily disappearing. The weekly returns of the Registrar-General show a gradual diminution in the number of deaths from cholera, and we trust that its entire disappearance will speedily be announced. The number of deaths in London for the week ending the 21st is 163, and the returns for the previous weeks, from the first breaking out of the epidemic, are 5, 26, 133, 399, 644, 729, 847, 1287, 2050, 1549, 1284, 754, 411, and 249. From these reports it appears that the epidemic attained its height in the first week in September, since which it has been gradually diminishing. It is a singular fact that, though the disease showed itself much earlier in 1849 than in the present year, the greatest mortality was obtained on nearly the same day. 'The total deaths,' says the Registrar-General's Report of the 6th, 'in the present eruption, have been 7669; in the eruption of 1849 the deaths by cholera, up to the

same date, within one day, were 11,825. In both of the eruptions the mortality was highest on nearly the same day of September. Its decline commenced in the corresponding week, and we may now sanguinely hope that it will descend as rapidly as it did in the autumn of 1849.' The little progress hitherto made by the medical profession in their treatment of this malady is a humiliating and mortifying fact. Human science is laughed to scorn, whilst the rapidity of the disease and its terribly fatal effects awaken the deepest alarm. Some progress, however, has been made. The stimulants formerly administered are now generally admitted to be injurious, and are in consequence discontinued. So far well. But the most eminent members of the medical profession are as far as ever from being agreed as to the best mode of treating the disease. The evidence given by men of equal skill and integrity as to the effect of specific modes of treatment is singularly contradictory, so as greatly to perplex the unprofessional judge, and to throw contempt on human skill. For ourselves we greatly prefer the homœopathic mode of treatment. So far as we can judge, it has been the most successful, and we should certainly have resorted to it had we been amongst the number of the attacked. Waving, however, this question, it naturally occurs to ask whether we are to be subjected at short intervals to the reappearance of this fearful malady.

Until recently, the cholera was regarded as the disease of a distant and very different clime,—as dependent, in fact, on causes not existing amongst ourselves. Such a notion, however, must now be abandoned. At no distant intervals it has appeared three times amongst us, and hitherto we have made little progress in devising means of withstanding its assaults. One thing, however, is evident, and to this we invite special attention. We have it in our power to increase or diminish the intensity of the attacks; and it is the height of folly, therefore, to say nothing of other considerations, not to adopt all precautionary measures. Now it is clear beyond doubt that, as a general rule, cleanliness, pure air, and pure water, are amongst the most effectual means of protection which can be adopted. To these points, consequently, public attention should be directed. On former occasions the disappearance of cholera has been followed by inattention to sanitary measures. Whilst the plague raged, every voice was raised on their behalf. A loud demand was made for improved sewerage, unadulterated water, and fresh air; but no sooner was the calamity passed than men complained of the expense entailed, and became indifferent to the completion of their own plans. Let it not be so again. Recent experience has shown the benefits which accrue from the systematic carrying out of sanitary measures. Some of the worst neighbourhoods of 1849 have been scarcely visited by the cholera in 1854. Fact has thus come in confirmation of theory, and we shall be amongst the dullest and most criminal of mankind if we do not betake ourselves to the steady and continuous adoption of all remedial measures. We trust that the recent appointment of a 'Minister of Health' will go far to retain public attention on the subject, and to induce a vigorous carrying out of those works which are needful to protect the lives of

the community. To the religious mind it is needless to say that such a visitation powerfully enforces the uncertainty of life. At the best we know not what a day nor an hour will bring forth. But amidst the painful scenes which have recently occurred, we may well admit that there is but a step between us and death. A calm dependence on the Supreme—the entire resignation of ourselves to God's will—a diligent discharge of present duty, in the conviction that we are at the disposal of Infinite Wisdom and Love—is the best state of mind we can cultivate. There is nothing happening by chance. Our lives are in God's hands, and we may safely leave them to His disposal, knowing that He is too wise to err and too good to be unkind.

THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT EDUCATION HAS ASSUMED A PRACTICAL FORM IN INDIA. An outline of the contemplated plan was given by Sir Charles Wood to the House of Commons in his exposition of Indian affairs, and the views of our rulers have been more explicitly stated since in a 'despatch to the Government of India on the subject of general education in India.' This despatch is dated July 19th, 1854, and the leading feature of the plan it unfolds is that of absolute neutrality on the subject of religion. All parties, Christians, Mohammedans, and Pagans; Protestants and Catholics; Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Methodists, and Baptists; are invited to receive the proffered aid, and all possible pains are taken to prevent the plan from infringing on the religious sympathies of any of them. 'The system of grants in aid,' says the despatch in question, 'which we propose to establish in India, will be based on an entire abstinence from interference in the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted.' All schools which 'impart a good secular education' are eligible to receive such grants, provided they are under 'adequate local management,' and are 'subject to Government inspection.' Speaking of the school inspectors, who are to be provided in considerable numbers, the despatch says, 'No notice whatsoever should be taken by them of the religious doctrines which may be taught in any school.' 'Perfect religious neutrality' is said to be the principle on which the grants are to be made. The scheme, therefore, is open, *in a very aggravated form*, to the objections we have been accustomed to urge against the plan adopted in this country. As the errors taught in the vernacular schools of India are more numerous and revolting than any which exist in this country, our repugnance to the system which countenances them is proportionably more intense. 'The idolatry taught in the schools,' says Mr. Baines, 'is the saddest and foulest thing that every insulted God or polluted man,—the worship of devils, and not of the holy God,—the bloodiest, lewdest, falsest, maddest system that ever Satan put into the corrupt heart and imagination of human beings,—the most impudent and shameless in its infamy,—too atrocious for language to describe,—the unutterable curse of the millions of India.'

Such being the case, the course of Christian men and of Christian missions especially is obvious. Whatever advantages may attend the reception of such grants must be relinquished—not reluctantly and

by constraint—but with the decision of principle, and the energy which an honest and entire conviction induces. Whatever distinction may be drawn by ourselves between the secular and the religious department of schools, the natives of India will regard such grants as affording a sanction to their idolatries. This is distinctly affirmed by the Rev. John Sugden, of Lancaster, lately one of the agents of the London Missionary Society at Bangalore, in reply to an inquiry addressed to him by Mr. Baines. ‘The Hindoo,’ says Mr. Sugden, ‘very frequently vindicates his idolatries by saying, *our religion is good for us, and yours for you*; and I have no doubt the new Government scheme will give him the impression that the authorities have come to the same conclusion. The more so when you remember how shamelessly in past days the Government has sanctioned and upheld the prevailing superstitions.’

In answer to another inquiry of equal importance, whether the grant, though intended for the secular department, would not practically support the whole institution? Mr. Sugden replies,—‘*No doubt it will, and I am perfectly sure that it will infuse new life into many an inert heathen association for opposing the Gospel.* Whilst I am ready to allow that it may tend to the diffusion of secular knowledge, *it will tend equally to support superstition.* Professedly entirely secular, it is in reality wholly religious, for it supports all creeds indirectly.’

The question assumes an important practical aspect in relation to our missionary friends throughout the presidencies, and it has been seriously urged that they should be left to adopt whatever course their individual judgments may dictate. We admit that the suggestion is specious, and has much to recommend it; but it is plausible rather than solid, and is founded on a total misconception of the position and relation of parties. The societies at home will be held responsible—and fairly so—for the course pursued in this matter by their agents abroad, and we trust, therefore, that their views will be early expressed in some distinct and unmistakeable form. Wesleyan missionaries have been accustomed to receive such grants, but in no case, so far as we know, is this done by the agents of the London and the Baptist Missionary Societies. We trust that no concession to an unsound principle will now be made. Mr. Edmund Baines has called the attention of the Directors of the former society to the subject, and we hope shortly to hear that some resolution has been adopted by both which will place their views on this grave subject beyond the possibility of question. On a first consideration of the subject we were prepared to make large concessions in the case of India; but the more attentively we have looked at it, the deeper has become our conviction that the plan proposed by Government for our eastern empire is more offensive to religious principle, and more dishonoring to truth, than that which has been rejected in this country.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE HELD ITS ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN FREEMASONS’ HALL, LONDON, during the past month. The meetings commenced on Monday the 9th, and were continued during the following two days. Various subjects came up for consideration, and the general tone of the Conference was that of devout earnestness. Amongst

the topics introduced were the persecution of French Protestants ; the establishment of a new Hall at Oxford in harmony with the views and requirements of Evangelical Christians ; Maynooth ; the Crystal Palace ; the Waldensian churches ; and Turkish missions. From the resolutions which were submitted, and the explanatory statements made in connexion with them, we learn that it is in contemplation, under the provisions of the recent act for the reform of the University of Oxford, to establish a new Hall in that city, not on a dissenting but an Evangelical basis, free on the one hand from the Puseyism which is doing such irreparable injury to Evangelical religion, and on the other from the cold, barren orthodoxy which adopts a scriptural creed to the neglect and sacrifice of its living spirit. The resolution on this subject was moved by Dr. Steane, and was in the following terms :—‘ That this Conference have heard with much satisfaction of the intention which is entertained by a number of Christian gentlemen to avail themselves of the recent act of parliament reforming the University of Oxford, to found a Hall in that University, in which a sound education may be imparted, free from ecclesiastical peculiarities, and based on the one generous and broad view of Protestant Christianity, which is held in common by Evangelical Christians, and with great respect for the brethren engaged in the undertaking, cordially commend it to the blessing of God.’ So far the scheme has our approval, but we wait for fuller information before committing ourselves to it. It wears a pleasing aspect, conciliates our esteem by the broad and generous ground on which it is based, and seems well adapted to the requirements of our day. We shall be glad to know more respecting it, and in the meantime do not hesitate to say that our first impression is highly favorable.

Respecting *Maynooth* a hope is expressed that ‘ the public opinion of the three kingdoms will unequivocally demand the repeal of the parliamentary grant to that college, and that Christian men will be able to see their way to some united action on the subject.’ In the former part of this we cordially unite. Few things will afford us more satisfaction than the repeal of the act of Sir Robert Peel. For this end we are prepared to labor earnestly, continuously, and with prayer. What we deprecate in the case is any attempt at united action which shall conceal or be founded on the suppression of the distinctive principles of churchmen and dissenters. Uniting in the end proposed, let each of us seek it in the way most consistent with our principles, and best accordant therefore with self-respect. We may move towards the same point without constituting one and the same body.

On the subject of the opening of the Crystal Palace, a resolution was adopted, which might, we think, have been advantageously shortened. The Evangelical Alliance is, of course, opposed to the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sunday, and the protest they have recorded will operate, we trust, extensively against this evil. We cannot imagine a more mischievous device. It is fraught with serious peril, and should be most firmly and earnestly opposed by all Christian men. Anything more flimsy than the arguments by which the measure is advocated cannot be well conceived. We are no believers in the tea-garden and the ale-house being deserted for the Crystal Palace, nor have we the

slightest respect for the religious benefits which are represented as likely to flow from the contemplation of the works of art and science collected at Sydenham. Such things may do in poetry, but there is a sickly sentimentality about them, which is unfit for practical life. The language frequently heard on this subject is the mere cant of religious indifference, and we are the enemies of all cant, whether found in the chapel, in the schools of philosophy, or in the scenes of popular amusement. With these views we heartily concur with the Conference in affirming 'that the present is a time when the efforts of all Christians ought to be put forth with special earnestness, to avert the public calamity which any legislative encroachment on the sanctity of the Sabbath would entail, and to secure the greatest possible amount of influence towards obtaining the total closing of public-houses.'

A POLITICO-PROTESTANT POLICY WILL PROBABLY BE ADOPTED BY THE OPPOSITION NEXT SESSION. The intimations of this are becoming increasingly distinct. The ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer has been addressed by several Protestant associations, and some leading tory journals are counselling him to accede to their request, and to place himself at the head of what is termed the Protestant feeling of the nation. He is assured that nothing further is needed to secure the discomfiture of his opponents, and his own return to Downing-street. The tide of popular feeling is running, he is informed, in this direction, and he has only to place himself on the bosom of its waters to be carried back to power to the chagrin and bitter disappointment of all latitudinarians. It is obvious to remark that there is both a fitness and an absurdity in such language being addressed to Mr. Disraeli,—a fitness when the pliancy of his political creed is taken into account—an absurdity when it is supposed that he is the subject of religious zeal. Let him be convinced that his power will be increased, and the number of his votes be augmented, and Mr. Disraeli will not hesitate a moment about adopting the course prescribed. Here we have no doubt. There is no room for hesitation. His whole political life shows that he is ready to adopt any course, or to advocate any policy, by which his personal position will be strengthened. It becomes, however, a grave question what course should be pursued by the liberal party, in the event of Mr. Disraeli and the Opposition adopting the rallying cry we have supposed. The Emancipation Act of 1829 is safe. It would be perfect madness to attempt its repeal. Two or three may be found sufficiently Quixotic in their bigotry to attempt it, but their efforts would be fruitless, and they themselves would be laughed to scorn. Mr. Disraeli sees too clearly the signs of the times to attempt such a hopeless task. His efforts will be in other directions. He will address himself to inferior but more attainable victories. The endowment of Maynooth will probably be one of these; and if his movements in this direction are wisely timed, we doubt not his success. We were strongly opposed to Sir Robert Peel's transference of the Maynooth grant from the annual votes to the Consolidated Fund; and if it should now be proposed to undo this mischief, come from whatever quarter the proposal may, we shall be amongst its earnest and unselfish supporters. The advocates of religious liberty

must be content to fight their great battle in detail. Maynooth is but an outpost of the Irish church, and we are therefore ready to assist Mr. Disraeli in withdrawing from it the grant at present received; because, in addition to other considerations, we believe that the fall of the Irish church will thereby be facilitated. Let the principle, however, be fairly and universally applied. 'It cannot,' says the 'Nonconformist,' and we heartily adopt its language, 'be justly urged against Popery, and at the same time suspended towards Presbyterianism, and reversed towards the Establishment. The safest policy will be to go with any party who goes for an annihilation of public endowments *in any case*—with Protestants against those enjoyed by Roman Catholics—with Roman Catholics against those of Protestants. In this warfare we should own no allegiance to political party of any kind.'

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES was held in Newcastle, Shields, and Sunderland, on the 16th and two following days. The first session was opened at Sunderland, by a comprehensive address by the Rev. Dr. A. Morton Brown, of Chillenham, on the evangelical character of the doctrines and the spiritual views of Christ's Kingdom held by Congregationalists, in which the speaker followed up his lucid illustrations by exhorting the Assembly to regard the purity of the churches, to cultivate the spirit of Christian aggression, and to maintain great ministerial fidelity. Valuable papers were read on British Missions, Education, Chapel Building, the History of Nonconformity in Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, the Turkish Missions, the best means of bringing out suitable young men for the ministry, and other important matters, which gave rise to free and animated discussions. Meetings of a devotional character were held on Monday evening in each of the three towns, and four public meetings were held for expounding the principles and advocating the objects of the Union. Sermons were also preached by Dr. Legge, the Rev. S. Edwards, and the Rev. Professor Thomson of Glasgow. More than two hundred ministers and delegates from distant parts of the kingdom were present. Too many objects were crowded into the time allowed for discussion; yet large meetings were deeply interested, and the representatives of a populous and thriving district, far from the metropolis, attested their confidence in the noble principles of belief and action on which the Union is formed. In some of the discussions, the unabating opposition of English Nonconformists to slavery, the union of Church and State, and the interference of government in popular education, was boldly and unanimously demonstrated. Much sympathy was naturally expressed by the Assembly with the sufferers by the late terrific conflagration and explosion in Gateshead and Newcastle, the ruins of which were objects of melancholy interest to the strangers from remote places. Though there was not the concentration usual in previous meetings of the Union, the plan of joining three large towns situated so near to each other, fully answered the expectations of the projectors, in diffusing much more widely than could have otherwise been done the benefits of the Association.

OUR READERS ARE AWARE THAT A HEAVY BLOW HAS BEEN

RECENTLY AIMED AT CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM IN DENMARK. A proclamation was issued by the king, Frederick VII., on the 26th of July last, which threatens the re-establishment of absolutism, and was evidently designed to pave the way for the entire suppression of popular liberty. From what we have heard of the king of Denmark, we regard him as little more than the agent of others in this matter. He is surrounded by men, who, under the forms of monarchy, seek to maintain the immunities of a privileged class. Their influence is paramount: at least, it will give way only when constrained by the calm and consolidated force of public opinion. We have been anxious to see what course the Danes would take. Had they resorted to barricades, we should have despaired. Whatever momentary triumph they gained would have been at the expense of those solid foundations on which alone permanent liberty can be based. Nothing of this kind, however, has occurred. There has been no violence, no civil war, no slaughter of sentinels, nor assaults on king's palaces. Those who judge according to the Continental fashion have been ready to conclude that the king's proclamation would achieve its object, and the people be permanently enslaved. But the result has showed that such judgment is erroneous. Neither French, Germans, nor Italians understand anything about the force of public opinion. They do not comprehend it, and hence many of their political failures. Denmark, however, has pursued a different course; and in this respect, we are proud to say, has followed our example. By a majority of 80 to 6 the Danish House of Representatives has voted the appointment of a committee to prepare articles of impeachment against ministers for promulgating the July manifesto, and bishop Monrad has given notice of a motion for a committee to examine the new Ministerial Bill for reducing the Danish Parliament to a merely Provincial Assembly. The popular feeling has been shown in a petition from Fryen, bearing seven thousand signatures, declaratory of attachment to the existing constitution. The University, also, has recorded its feeling by the election of Professor J. E. Larsen to be Rector Magnificus; and on the 16th, the Volksting, or House of Representatives, adopted an address to the king by a majority of 90 to 1, in which they avow their readiness to promote all sound measures of reform, refer to the king's proclamation of January 28, 1852, pledging himself to a representative constitution, and then add, in a tone, the calmness of which is indicative of conscious strength, 'The Danish people, most gracious king, have a vivid and firm consciousness of their right, even in regulation of the affairs of the monarchy, to take their stand upon the constitutional representative basis that supports our present constitution. Hence, no Danish Diet can ever renounce its claim that the organ to which the collective affairs of the monarchy have to be intrusted should have full legislative powers, and be at the same time a real representation of the people, thereby guaranteeing the latter against any undue preponderance of that element that is being introduced into the Assembly by virtue of elections made by the Crown.' This address was presented to the king on the 20th, and on the following day the House was dissolved. New elections are imme-

diately to take place, and the Diet is appointed to meet early in December. 'The state of public feeling throughout the country,' says the 'Times,' 'leaves no doubt of the absolute triumph of the Constitutional party, and a king who is so ill-advised as to persevere in such a contest with a people resolved to be free, ends by the loss of something more than his ministers.'

We await the result with anxiety, but without fear. Many of our readers will remember the reflections of Lord Clarendon on the hasty dissolution of the parliament of April, 1640. The policy pursued by the Danish government is adapted to produce a similar result. In any case, we feel assured that the Diet which meets in December, so far from being subdued by what has occurred, will only feel themselves more imperatively required, not only to accomplish the duty of the hour, but to guard against the recurrence of such dangers as are now threatened by the selfishness and absolutism of the court. May a spirit of moderation and firmness reign in their councils, that the North of Europe may witness the triumph of law over force,—the omnipotence of public opinion, though assailed by all the power which a compact and absolutist government can array against it.

THE 'GAZETTE' OF FRIDAY THE 20TH CONTAINS A COPY OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION which has been issued for the collection and control of what is termed a 'Patriotic Fund' for the Widows and Orphans of Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines, dying in Active Service during the present War. An appeal is made on behalf of the widows and orphans of those who either have or may 'nobly sacrifice their lives in our service, while protecting the invaded liberties of our ally, and repressing the ceaseless ambition of our enemies.' Her Majesty heads the subscription list with a donation of £1000, and Prince Albert contributes £500. The commissioners are wisely selected from various parties, political and ecclesiastical, and are empowered to call before them all persons connected with the public service who may be able to contribute information bearing on the object of the commission. Full and diligent inquiry is to be made 'into the best mode of aiding the loyalty and benevolence of her Majesty's loving subjects, and of ascertaining the best means by which their gifts and contributions may be best applied, according to the generous intentions of the donors thereof.' We expect a hearty response to this well-timed appeal. A fund of almost unprecedented magnitude will be formed, and much care will be required in order to its being administered with fidelity and wisdom. It is a pleasing thing to see the nation thus promptly bestirring itself to meet the claim of those brave men who have fallen in the service of their country. The exercise of such benevolence is as useful to our people as it will prove serviceable to the families of our deceased soldiers and sailors. A high authority tells us that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive,' and on no occasion probably will this aphorism receive more pertinent illustration than in what is now taking place amongst us. We shall be glad to learn that some of the members of this commission, well known as enlightened and generous philanthropists, give to the work of mercy the time and energy it requires.

IN OUR LAST NUMBER WE REPORTED THE DISEMBARKATION OF THE

ALLIED ARMY IN THE CRIMEA. Contrary to general expectation, this was effected without opposition, for which it is difficult to account, as much annoyance and serious loss might have been inflicted on the allies had Prince Menschikoff adopted a different course. For some inexplicable reason, he waived the advantages of his position, and entrenched himself and a numerous army on the heights of Alma, between the place of disembarkation and Sebastopol. His position was very formidable, and he evidently calculated on maintaining it for some weeks, in the hope, probably, of receiving powerful reinforcements. The allied troops, however, immediately moved forward, and feeling the importance of time, it was determined to attack the Russian position, which consisted of various batteries crowning an extensive ridge. The Russian general commanded in person, having under him some 40,000 infantry, with several thousand cavalry, and nearly two hundred pieces of heavy artillery. At half-past twelve o'clock on the 20th of September, the allied army, occupying upwards of a league in extent, arrived on the Alma, and was received by a terrible fire. The contest was fierce and most destructive, and it is impossible to speak in too high terms of the heroism with which the allied troops acted. It is not our purpose to enter into the details of the battle. It was fierce and almost without parallel in the slaughter inflicted. The French and English troops vied with each other in the heroism of the assault. The courage of each was shown in accordance with their national character. The French, in an incredibly short time, scrambled up heights almost perpendicular, and at length succeeded in turning the Russian flank. The British, with more calmness, but with equal intrepidity, preserved a steady front against the murderous fire of the Russian batteries. The slaughter was terrible. Officers and men fell in vast numbers, but others rapidly moved forward to occupy their place, and the heights were at length gained, the batteries were silenced, and the Russians, thrown into disorder, abandoned their intrenchments, and sought safety in flight. Thousands entered Sebastopol, and others, under the immediate command of Menschikoff, retreated into the interior. The report of the battle of Alma was speedily followed by that of the fall of Sebastopol. The latter report obtained for a time universal credence, but was subsequently found to be a fabrication, by whom invented, or with what special intent, is yet wrapped in mystery. The official reports of Marshal St. Arnaud and of Lord Raglan to their respective governments, depict with generous enthusiasm, the bravery of their associates. 'The English,' says the former, 'attacked the Russian position in admirable order, under the fire of their cannon, carried them, and drove off the Russians. The bravery of Lord Raglan rivals that of antiquity. In the midst of cannon and musket shot, he maintained a calmness which never left him.' The divisions of the Duke of Cambridge and of Sir George Brown, which bore the brunt of the assault, are described as 'superb.' The language of Lord Raglan is equally explicit. 'I will not attempt,' he says, 'to describe the movements of the French army, that will be done by an abler hand; but it is due to them to say that their operations were eminently successful, and that under the guidance of their distinguished

commander, Marshal St. Arnaud, they manifested the utmost gallantry, the greatest ardour for the attack, and the high military qualities for which they are so famed.'

So complete was the discomfiture of the Russians, that the allied forces moved forward without further opposition; and it having been found necessary to establish a new basis for their operations, they took possession of Balaklava, to the south of Sebastopol, where the heavy artillery and other siege *matériel* have subsequently been landed. The lull which has taken place since the battle of Alma has afforded an opportunity of looking more closely on the battle-field. We do not regret the disclosure that has thus been made. The spectacle seen is horrible in the extreme, and cannot fail to sober the exultation attendant on the tidings of victory. In former times we heard only of the general result, but we have now been furnished with those details at which humanity sickens, and which will go further to eject the demon of war from the hearts of our people than all the homilies which divines could read.

Vast preparations are being made for the attack of Sebastopol. All calculate on its fall, and there seems good reason to believe that such will be the issue. The Russians, however, are evidently prepared for an obstinate defence. A large military force is in possession of the town; eight men of war have been sunk to prevent the approach of the allied fleet, and reinforcements are hastening to the Crimea with the utmost possible despatch. All classes of our countrymen are waiting with intense anxiety for intelligence, and their feeling is shared by the rulers and the people of every European state. The bombardment commenced on the 17th, and heavy loss was inflicted on the Russians. The record we have thus rapidly traced is deeply mournful, but in proportion to our sense of its horrors is our solicitude that the operations of the besiegers should be pressed forward with the utmost vigor. The Czar is inaccessible to reason, and can only be reached by a fearful demonstration of the Powers he has provoked.

Marshal St. Arnaud has sunk beneath the labors and anxieties of his position. In his despatch of the 21st September, he says,—'My health is as usual; it is sustained amidst sufferings, crises, and duty. All that did not prevent me keeping the saddle twelve hours on the day of battle. But will my strength not give way?' His foreboding was speedily realized. A few days after the battle he was a corpse. General Canrobert has been appointed to the command of the French forces.

In the meantime it is natural to ask what influence the events in the Crimea are exerting on the policy of other European states. On receiving intelligence of them, the Emperor of Austria hastened to present his congratulations to Louis Napoleon. This was done in the belief that Sebastopol had fallen, and is, doubtless, regretted since that rumor has been disproved. Russia has, in consequence, demanded explanation, and the disposition of forces along the border line of the two states clearly shows the little confidence which subsists between the monarchs. We have no confidence, however, in the honesty of Austria. Should the Western Powers still content themselves with the four propositions of the note of Drouyn de L'huys, a delusive

and temporary peace with Russia may possibly be concluded during the winter. But if they demand more than these, which they are clearly bound to do, Austria will probably take advantage of the fact to plead her right to abstain from active co-operation. Should this occur, the war, we apprehend, will become European, and there is no saying where its effects may terminate. Politicians already begin to talk of the resuscitation of Poland as a breakwater against Russia, and other nations long trodden down beneath the iron rule of the House of Hapsburg may yet rally to the call of nationality. The course of Prussia is retrograde, and in the event of Austria being embarked in the contest, it will be difficult to prevent a rupture between her and Prussia. We cannot say more on these topics. Events of the deepest significance are apparently on the eve of accomplishment, and we await the issue in calm reliance on that Supreme Intelligence which orders all things after the counsel of its own will. Let christian men be duly alive to the momentous nature of the present crisis. The signs of the times are becoming increasingly significant. The re-action of despotism has done its worst. The day of European redemption, we trust, is drawing nigh. May the failures and the follies of the past teach men wisdom; that when another opportunity shall be furnished, their strength may not be wasted in the discussion of mere theories, but may be addressed to the practical safeguards which experience raises around national freedom.

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